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ART. I.—*A General View of the History of the English Bible.*
By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, B.D. London and Cambridge : Macmillan and Co. 1868.

THE publication of this volume adds another to the series of careful, accurate, and interesting works for which Mr. Westcott deserves the thanks of every biblical student. In his previously published and now well-known volumes—the *Introduction to the Study of the Four Gospels*, the *History of the Canon of the New Testament during the First Four Centuries*, and *The Bible in the Church*—he has very happily succeeded in combining the popular manual with the scholar's book of reference and authority. To a learning and accuracy which command respect and confidence he unites what are not always found in union with these qualities, the no less valuable faculties of lucid arrangement and graceful and facile expression. In this his latest work he has dealt with a congenial subject, well fitted to form a sequel to his former works, and likely to meet with a wider and more general circle of readers than even they have met with. There are few subjects, indeed, so closely connected with theology and religion; and which are, or should be, of so much general and literary interest as the history of the English Bible. The student of English literature and the student of English history may find almost as much in it to repay their thought and research as the student of theology or of ecclesiastical history. From various causes, and especially from the political and religious disputes and controversies of the past, as an American writer has remarked, the Bible has become known to the mind, and incorporated into

the heart and the speech, of the English people, to a greater extent than any other book ever entered into the life of man, with the possible exception of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Homeric poems, and the Arabic Koran. The subject, therefore, of Mr. Westcott's book might be expected to possess attraction for many readers, apart from the literary ability, the faithful labour, and the chastened enthusiasm which he has thrown into the execution of it.

Passing over with slight notice the remains of our earliest translations of the Scriptures, Mr. Westcott dates the commencement of the history of the English Bible at the close of the fourteenth century. That history is twofold. "There is the external history of the different versions, as to when, and by whom, and under what circumstances they were made; and there is the internal history, which deals with their relation to other texts, with their filiation one on another, and with the principles by which they have been successively modified." Under these two divisions he treats it; and the arrangement being a convenient one, we shall try to follow it in going over the same ground in the following pages. In the historic current which we are about to trace, no more prominent epoch emerges than that which marks the invention and application of the art of printing—the great mechanical and literary revolution of the fifteenth century, hardly less important in its consequences than the great religious and intellectual revolution of the sixteenth; and the history of our translations of the Scriptures falls naturally into two periods, that which precedes this epoch, and that which follows it. The first of these periods, that of the Manuscript Bible, ends with the publication of Tyndale's Printed New Testament in 1525; the second, that of the Printed Bible, begins in 1525, and ends in 1611, with the publication of our present Authorised Version.

The Manuscript Bible. The remains of the early attempts in our country to render the Scriptures into the vernacular possess little interest for anyone but the literary antiquarian, yet the work which was afterwards effected is more highly valued after comparison with these early and partial attempts. The long Anglo-Saxon poem attributed to Caedmon, a monk in the monastery of Whitby, near the close of the seventh century, is rather a metrical paraphrase of the narratives of the Old and New Testaments than a translation properly so called. The epithet "Miltonic" has been applied to some of the passages in the poem, and the description of the assembly of Lucifer and the fallen angels in consternation at the Incar-

nation of Christ, has been compared with the famous passage in *Paradise Lost*. But the mention of such a scene is sufficient to show how far the work in which it occurs must be from anything like a translation of the Scriptures. A version of the *Psalter* into Anglo-Saxon is said to have been made by Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborn, in the same century; and he has been supposed to be the author, at least in part, of the version or paraphrase of the *Psalms* found in the Royal Library at Paris at the commencement of the present century. The name of the Venerable Bede is also associated with this work. In his epistle to Bishop Egbert, on ecclesiastical discipline, he recommends him to endeavour to implant deeply in the memory of all men the Catholic faith which is contained in the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer as it is taught us in the Holy Gospel, and that the vulgar, that is, those who know only their own language, must be made to say them and repeat them over and over again in their own language. "I have myself also," he adds, "often given English translations of both of these, namely, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, to uneducated priests." His longest attempt, however, at translation into his native tongue, to our eyes strangely out of proportion to his voluminous Latin works, was made just before his death, in 735; and is recorded by his disciple, Cuthbert, in the touching and beautiful letter which he wrote after the death of his "father and master, whom God loved." It deserves a place among the too scanty records of our earliest translators:—

"He also sang antiphons according to our custom and his own, one of which is, 'O glorious King, Lord of all power, who, triumphing this day, didst ascend above all the heavens; do not forsake us orphans; but send down upon us the Spirit of Truth which was promised us by the Father. Hallelujah!' And when he came to that word, 'do not forsake us,' he burst into tears, and wept much, and an hour after he began to repeat what he had commenced, and we, hearing it, mourned with him. By turns we read and by turns we wept, nay, we wept always whilst we read. . . . During these days he laboured to compose two works well worthy to be remembered, besides the lessons we had from him, and singing of *Psalms*; viz., he translated the Gospel of St. John as far as the words, 'But what are these among so many,' etc. [chap. vi. 9] into our own tongue, for the benefit of the Church; and some collections out of the Book of Notes of Bishop Isidorus, saying, 'I will not have my pupils read a falsehood, nor labour therein without profit after my death.' When the Tuesday before the Ascension of our Lord came, he began to suffer still more in his breath, and a slight swelling appeared in his

feet; but he passed all that day and dictated cheerfully, and now and then among other things said, 'Go on quickly, I know not how long I shall hold out, and whether my Maker will not soon take me away.' But to us he seemed very well to know the time of his departure; and so he spent the night, awake, in thanksgiving; and when the morning appeared, that is, Wednesday, he ordered us to write with all speed what he had begun; and this done, we walked till the third hour with the relics of saints, according to the custom of that day. There was one of us with him, who said to him, 'Most dear master, there is still one chapter wanting; do you think it troublesome to be asked any more questions?' He answered, 'It is no trouble. Take your pen, and make ready, and write fast.' Which he did, but at the ninth hour he said to me, "I have some little articles of value in my chest, such as pepper, napkins, and incense; run quickly, and bring the priests of our monastery to me, that I may distribute among them the gifts which God has bestowed on me." . . . Having said much more, he passed the day joyfully till the evening; and the boy, above mentioned, said: 'Dear master, there is yet one sentence not written.' He answered, 'Write quickly.' Soon after, the boy said, 'It is finished.' He replied, 'It is well, you have said the truth. It is finished. Take my head into your hands, for it is a great satisfaction to me to sit facing my holy place, where I was wont to pray, that I may also sitting call upon my Father.' And thus on the pavement of his little cell, singing: 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,' when he had named the Holy Ghost, he breathed his last, and so departed to the heavenly kingdom."—*Works of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by Giles (1843), vol. i. pp. lxxxi.—lxxxiii. and clxiv.—clxvi.

After Bede, the next name in the list of translators is that of King Alfred. To the beginning of the code of laws digested and promulgated by him in Anglo-Saxon, he prefixed the Ten Commandments and some other suitable passages from the book of Exodus; and, according to William of Malmesbury, he began a version of the Psalms not long before his death in 901. A translation of the Gospels, made probably in the ninth century, is extant in at least six MSS. of later date, and has thrice been published. The narratives of the Evangelists were also made accessible to the Anglo-Saxon reader by glosses written between the lines of the text in copies of the Latin Gospels. Two such MSS. are still preserved; one in the British Museum, and the other in the Bodleian Library. The former, known by the name of the *Durham Book*, is a beautiful volume, having the Latin text of Jerome's translation, interlined by an Anglo-Saxon version written, as a note at the end informs us, by a priest named Aldred. The latter, known as the *Rushworth Gospels*, or *Gloss*, was made by two

persons, Owun, and Farmen, a priest; and, like the other, probably belongs to the tenth century. Glosses of the same kind were also made about the same date on the Psalter, the Lord's Prayer, the Canticles of the Church, and different portions of Scripture. In the latter part of the tenth century, Aelfric translated the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, part of the books of Kings, Esther, Job, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees: but his object being to give the substance rather than the words, of the parts of Scripture which he translated, he in many cases omitted, and in others abridged, the original narrative and precepts. He also wrote an epitome or short account of the Old and New Testaments, and a large number of homilies, eighty of which still remain, full of quotations from the sacred writers. The incursions of the Danes and the invasion of the Normans must necessarily have caused the loss of much of the previously existing Anglo-Saxon sacred literature; but manuscripts which have been preserved prove that versions of the Gospels and other books were still in use and were reproduced by transcription in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Before the close of the last of these periods, the Normans had translated into the dialect known as Anglo-Norman the book of Psalms and the hymns of the Church; and before the middle of the thirteenth century, a prose version, in that dialect, of the whole Bible seems to have been completed, as well as a metrical history of the Old Testament to the end of Kings. Coming now to the period known as that of *Semi-Saxon* (called *Second English* by those who prefer the name *First English* to that of *Anglo-Saxon*), we meet with the metrical paraphrase of the Gospels and Acts of Orm or Ormin, named by him after himself the *Ormulum*. It extends to nearly 10,000 lines, and is interesting for its peculiar versification and the singular mode of spelling adopted on principle by the author; but as a translation it is very far from being literal. Its influence also must have been confined within the very narrowest limits, for it is only found in one manuscript, which is believed to be the autograph; and this work, for the proper spelling of which its author left strict injunctions to the copyists, has never been copied at all! With the *Ormulum* may be classed a long paraphrase in verse of the principal events of the Old and New Testament narratives, under the title *Salus Animæ*, or in English, *Sowlehele*. Another paraphrase, limited to the events in Genesis and Exodus, and of rather later date than the last-named, is still preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. There also is a manuscript of

the Psalter in verse, of which five other copies are found elsewhere.

"During the reign of the first three Edwards," it has been said by a good authority, "there appeared a great variety of poetical compositions upon sacred subjects, containing large extracts from Scripture. Some of these were taken from Anglo-Norman and French originals. The principal were in the form of legends of saints, and for the fasts and festivals of the Church; paraphrases of the Gospel lessons; narratives of the passion and resurrection of our Lord; relations of the creation and fall of man; expositions of the Pater Noster, the Creeds, the Ten Commandments, and the Ave-Maria; and exhortations to confession and penitence."—Forshall and Madden's edition of *Wycliffe's Bible*, Preface, p. iii. note d.*

Of prose translations of any entire books of Scripture into *English* properly so called, the earliest seems to be a version of the *Psalter* in English and Latin, verse for verse, which is attributed to William de Schorham, vicar of Chart-Sutton in Kent, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Almost contemporary with this, but somewhat later, is the prose version of the *Psalter* with a commentary executed by Richard Rolle, "chantry priest" at Hampole, near Doncaster. This work of Rolle, who died in 1349, was often transcribed, and a large number of copies remain, exhibiting many variations in the text, and in the commentary differing so much from one another, both in matter and length, that little trace of their common origin remains. In a copy written, it appears, in the time of Henry the Sixth, it is stated in some prefatory verses, that many copies had been made by "evil men of Lollardry," who had corrupted it with their own heresies; and the writer also informs us that the work had been undertaken at the prayer of a worthy recluse named Dame Margaret Kirkby, and that the original manuscript was still lying at Hampole, bound by chains to the author's tomb. A manuscript version of the Gospels of Mark and Luke and the Pauline Epistles has been assigned to the time of Rolle, but it more probably belongs to the fifteenth century; and there is reason, therefore, to believe the statement correct, that down to the

* We may here acknowledge once for all our obligation to this *Preface*, as well as to the *History of English Translations and Translators* prefixed to *Bagster's English Hexapla*. On the history of the early attempts to translate the Scriptures in our country down to and including that of Wycliffe, they contain very much trustworthy information. They are, indeed, our only good authorities on the subject; and we cannot but regret that Mr. Westcott has passed over this part of his work, however preliminary it may be, with such scanty notice.

year 1360 the *Psalter* was the only book of Scripture which had been entirely rendered into English.

In passing from these earliest translations to that which now meets us, we exchange the brief and disconnected records of imperfect versions, by authors frequently anonymous and generally obscure, for the ample and completed labours of a man whose name and work are interwoven with the history of the England of his day, no less closely than with the history of the Church. Two great names give an enduring and lively interest to English history in the fifteenth century—John Wycliffe and Geoffrey Chaucer. “The morning star of the English Reformation” had reached its setting, before “the morning star of (English) song” shone forth in its last and brightest period. Born four years after his great contemporary, the poet was fifty-six when the theologian died, and he lived on for sixteen years after him. They were men of different character and genius; yet we can understand each of them better by the light of the other’s works. Chaucer was no Wycliffite and no reformer; but many of the abuses which Wycliffe sought to remove were assailed by the poet with keen though humorous sarcasm. Wycliffe was no poet; but the society in which he played the part of a reformer was that which, after four centuries and a half, still lives with the freshness of yesterday in the pages of the *Canterbury Tales*. We cannot, however, here notice the history of Wycliffe’s life and labours. We must refrain from speaking of his honourable position at Oxford, and his reputation, acknowledged even by his enemies, for learning and casuistical skill, his controversy with the Mendicant Friars, his appeal from the offensive treatment of Archbishop Langham to the decision of the Pope, his bold and disinterested reply (before that appeal was answered) in the interests of the realm of England against the claims for tribute of Urban the Fifth, his negotiations with the Papal embassy at Bruges, his appearance before the convocation at St. Paul’s to answer charges of false doctrine preferred against him, his condemnation by four Papal bulls, his defence of himself before the assembly at Lambeth, his continued immunity from personal punishment, while his opinions were frequently and vehemently denounced, and after so many stormy years his quiet end on the last day of December, 1384, in his own Leicestershire parish, whence, forty-four years afterwards, by the long-enduring malice of his enemies, his bones were taken out of their resting-place, burned to ashes, and cast into the little stream at Lutterworth. Nor must we speak of those smaller treatises, which so well reveal the pro-

gress of his mind towards independence of human authority and submission to the Divine Word alone. We must pass on to speak briefly of his translation of the Scriptures—the work to which we may most fitly apply the characteristic saying of Foxe;—"This is out of all doubt that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkness of God his truth had overshadowed the whole earth, this man stepped out, like a valiant champion, unto whom it may justly be applied that is spoken in the book called Ecclesiasticus, of one Simon, the son of Onias, 'Even as the morning star being in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon being full in her course, and as the bright beams of the sun, so doth he shine and glisten in the temple and church of God.'"

In 1356 Wycliffe wrote his first work, *The Last Age of the Church*, a book inspired by the feelings of gloom and foreboding which the disastrous pestilences and social and political troubles of the time, had cast over society, as well as by the belief in the near approach of the consummation of all things. Very naturally his mind was turned to the Apocalypse; and not long after the date just mentioned, he published a translation of that book with a commentary. A translation of the Gospels, with a commentary composed mainly of extracts from previous expositions, was his next effort in this direction; and to this were added, in the course of time, translations of the Epistles and the Acts, and a second version of the Apocalypse. Thus a complete version of the New Testament was made, bearing internal evidence of being the work throughout of one writer. It is to be remembered here that others besides Wycliffe were at this time labouring at the same kind of work, and various more or less imperfect attempts of the sort have been preserved. Interesting extracts from these have been given by Mr. Forshall and Sir Frederick Madden in their noble edition of the Wycliffite versions, published at Oxford, in 1850, in four quarto volumes. It is there remarked that the persons engaged in this work evidently anticipated powerful opposition to the circulation of the Scriptures among the people, and regarded the task upon which they ventured as attended with danger to themselves. Hence in part arises the obscurity which attends the history of these translations; since the authors never make known their names, and are careful to avoid the mention of circumstances which might lead to their detection. An illustration of this is given in the words of one of these writers, the author of a curious para-

phrase of the Scripture history. Being asked to teach the "lewed and uncunning" what is needful for their souls, he replies:—

"Brother, I know well, that I am holden by Christ's law to perform thine asking, but natheless we be now so far fallen away from Christ's law, that if I would answer to thine askings I must in case undergo the death; and thou wist well, that a man is holden to keep his life as long as he may. And peradventure it is speedful to hold our peace awhile, till that God vouchsafe that his will be known; for now the world is full of wickedness."*—*Forshall and Madden*, Preface, p. xv., note.

Another writer laments that "few there be that would be taught, few that can teach, and full few that will teach." Wycliffe himself writes, in a homily on the text, *Cum persecuti vos fuerint*:—

"And always they despise that men should know Christ's life, for then priests should be ashamed of their lives, and specially these high priests, and for they reverse Christ both in word and in deed. . . . O men, that be on Christ's side, help ye now against Antichrist, for the perilous time is come, that Christ and Paul told before. But one comfort is of knights that they savour much the Gospel, and have will to read in English the gospel of Christ's life, for afterward, if God will, the lordship shall be taken from priests, and so the staff, that maketh them hardy against Christ and His law."

The completion of Wycliffe's New Testament has been assigned to the year 1380. Shortly before this date one of the leaders of the Lollards at Oxford, Nicholas de Hereford, had undertaken the Old Testament, but his work was interrupted in 1382 by his being summoned before the synod at the Preaching Friars in London to answer charges of false doctrine. Sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him, from which he appealed to the Pope, and went to Rome to support his appeal, where he was put in prison. With his subsequent history we have nothing here to do. The original manuscript of his translation is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and bears a mark of the writer's being suddenly interrupted in his work, as it ends abruptly in the middle of a sentence in the book of Baruch (iii. 20). The version was carried on and finished by a different writer, and there can be little, if any, doubt that this writer was Wycliffe. The style of the latter part corresponds with that of his New

* The spelling and some words here and there in this and the other extracts have been modernised.

Testament, and there is a singular resemblance in the rendering of particular words. Hereford's translation is very literal, keeps close to the order of the original, generally renders the same words in the same way, and has no glosses on the text. The later version is not so literal, does not so strictly preserve the order of the original, varies in the rendering of the same phrases in different places, and has frequent textual glosses. On these and other grounds we have good reason to believe that before Wycliffe's death, in 1384, he had the satisfaction of seeing the entire Bible translated into English in a version approved by himself, and in by far the larger portion the result of his own labour. The credit of the authorship of the *first* English translation must always be associated with his name. Sir Thomas More, indeed, in 1530, in order to defend his party from the reproach of having withheld the Scriptures from the people, affirmed in his *Dialogues* that he had himself seen copies of English translations of the Bible made before Wycliffe's days. But if any such translation had ever been made, some remains of it would certainly have been left in his and in later, times; and the adherents of Wycliffe would have referred to it to justify their own labours, whereas they seem never to have known of its existence. No such work is recognised in the enactments against making or reading vernacular translations of the Scriptures in the fifteenth century; and the books which More says he had seen must have been copies of the Wycliffite versions.

This first Wycliffite translation, however, was far from being free from defects; it was not throughout the work of one person; in the part done by Hereford it was often incorrect, and sometimes obscure, because too literal. It was not long, therefore, before a revision of it was undertaken, possibly, as has been conjectured, at the suggestion of Wycliffe, but certainly by one of his followers. This was John Purvey, one of the prominent members of the party of the Lollards, who had lived with Wycliffe for some years before his death. Before the publication of the Oxford edition in 1850, the two versions were constantly confounded with one another, and their date and relative priority were involved in obscurity. The facts relating to the earlier one have been already stated; and with regard to the second, the Oxford editors concur in pointing out the summer of 1388 as the time when the general prologue prefixed to it was composed. In this prologue, which is of considerable length, Purvey gives an account of the principles on which he proceeded in his revision, to which, however, we cannot here

refer. His design was to make the work more correct, clearer, and better fitted for popular use; and in this he so well succeeded that his version speedily took the place of the earlier one. Copies of it were multiplied, and extensively read. Nor was its circulation confined to the middle or lower classes. The manuscripts themselves which still remain testify in many cases to the wealth of their owners and the value set upon the book, being written by skilful transcribers, on costly material, and in an expensive style. Some are known to have belonged to persons of the highest rank, five English sovereigns being in the number. The number of copies made must have been very great, judging even from those which are still in existence. In preparing their edition Mr. Forshall and Sir Frederick Madden were able to examine "nearly one hundred and fifty MSS., containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished. Others are known to have existed within the last century; and more, there can be no doubt, have escaped inquiry; how many have perished it is impossible to calculate."* It must be remembered that strenuous efforts were made to suppress both these versions, especially at the time when sedition as well as heresy became a charge against the Lollards. The act *de hæretico comburendo* was passed in 1401, and was soon carried into effect; and in 1408, at a meeting of Convocation in Oxford, under Archbishop Arundel, a constitution was enacted "that no man hereafter by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English or any other tongue, by way of a pamphlet, book, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, pamphlet, or treatise, now lately composed in the time of John Wycliffe or since, or hereafter to be set forth in part or in whole, publicly or privately, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be approved by the ordinary of the place or, if the case so require, by the provisional council." But neither this enactment, nor the extravagances of many religionists, nor the fall of the Lollards, nor the many other troubles of the fifteenth century, proved effectual to prevent the circulation and study of these versions of the Scriptures. They prepared the way for the great religious movement of the sixteenth century in England, by the wide diffusion of religious knowledge; and they also prepared the way for those subsequent labourers in the same good work who, with equal devotion

* Preface, p. xxxiii.

and increased facilities, sought to put it within the power of their fellow-countrymen to read in their own tongue the Word of God.

The Printed Bible. In some important respects Wycliffe, as a translator of the Scriptures, was indeed one "appearing ere the times were ripe." In the interval between his age and the next period in the history of the English Bible, two events had occurred which tended to make his work and his method things of the past. These were the revival of learning and the invention of printing. When Wycliffe wrote, the Latin Vulgate was the only original from which he could translate, and that was to be read with anything like accuracy only after the collation of many copies. The knowledge of Greek possessed by a few scholars north of the Alps was of the scantiest. Before his next worthy successor in the work of translation began his labours, the Bible had been printed in the Hebrew original of the Old Testament and the Greek of the New, and vernacular versions had been published in at least six of the spoken languages of Europe. So much may be briefly said of the direct result of the revival of learning on the text of the Scriptures, without saying anything of the intellectual revolution which accompanied it, or of the reformation of religion to which it so largely contributed. Of the influence of the invention of printing on sacred literature it is unnecessary to speak. We pass on to trace the history of the life and labours of William Tyndale.

"With Tyndale," says Mr. Westcott, "the history of our present English Bible begins; and for fifteen years the history of the Bible is almost identical with the history of Tyndale."* Just one hundred years had passed away since the death of Wycliffe, when Tyndale was born, in 1484, in some village in Gloucestershire. Of his early years we know nothing. He is said to have been brought up at Oxford, where he increased in the knowledge of the Scriptures, "whereunto his mind was singularly addicted." Leaving that University he went to Cambridge; probably drawn thither by the fame of Erasmus, who was at that time Professor of Greek. We next hear of him in 1520 living in the family of a knight in his native county, where he was frequently engaged in controversies with the neighbouring clergy. He had himself been ordained some years previously. It was in one of these controversies that he declared, "If God spare my life, ere many years I will

* P. 31.

cause the boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than the Pope does." He saw already that if the people were to be taught the truth, they must have the truth put within their reach. Leaving the country where he had now got many enemies, he came to London to obtain the help and patronage of Bishop Tunstall, whom Erasmus had highly praised for his great learning in the annotations to his Greek New Testament. But he found no favour with the bishop, who told him that his house was full, and advised him to seek in London where he could not lack a service. "And so," says Tyndale in the account he afterwards gave, "in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, . . . and saw things whereof I defer to speak at this time, and understood at the last, not only that there was no room in my Lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England." So he left England in the spring of 1524, and crossed over to Hamburg. There, it is said, he executed a version of the first two Gospels with marginal notes. In the following year he went to Cologne, and having now finished his translation of the New Testament, he began to print it. The edition was in quarto with marginal glosses; but when ten sheets had been printed, Cochläus, a strong opponent of the Reformers, discovered what was going on, and got the work prohibited. Tyndale made his way to Worms with the sheets already printed, and there in safety completed the work. Another edition, in octavo, was prepared at the same time, and was the first finished; and three thousand copies of each were soon struck off, and sent over secretly to England in the beginning of 1526. The work was gladly received by the people, and speedily disposed of; but met with vigorous opposition from the ruling powers. It was condemned to be burned, and strenuous attempts were made to collect all the copies of it which had been brought into the country. Sir Thomas More attacked it on the ground of its alleged defects; and it was denounced by Tunstall in a sermon at Paul's Cross, and copies of it were publicly burned at different places. But in spite of all opposition the work was circulated through the country, and especially in the dioceses of London, Oxford, and Norwich. The demand was so great that the Dutch printers published three surreptitious editions besides those authorised by Tyndale, making six in all, before 1530. "Yet," Mr. Westcott remarks, "so fierce and systematic was the persecution both now and afterwards, that of these

six editions, numbering perhaps 15,000 copies, there remains of the first one fragment only, which was found about thirty years ago, attached to another tract; of the second, one copy, wanting the title-page, and another very imperfect; and of the others, two or three copies, which are not, however, satisfactorily identified." In an assembly summoned by Archbishop Warham in May, 1530, a proclamation was prepared to be read by preachers, in which the translation and the heresies of Tyndale were denounced, while at the same time the terms which were used show the extent of the popular feeling in favour of it, and the general belief that a vernacular version of the Scriptures was required.

Tyndale meanwhile had begun the translation of the Old Testament, and in 1530 he published the books of Genesis and Deuteronomy in separate forms and at different places. These were soon followed by the publication of the entire Pentateuch with a preface and marginal notes, the latter of a strongly controversial character; and in 1534 he published the book of Jonah, of which a single copy was discovered eight years ago. This was the last book of the Old Testament translated by him which was published during his lifetime. In 1534 George Joye published an edition of Tyndale's New Testament revised by himself without the translator's authority, and the revision was of such a kind that Tyndale, in justice to himself, brought out before the end of the same year a revision of his own translation with various additions.

"One of the few copies of this edition which have been preserved is of touching interest. Among the men who had suffered for aiding in the circulation of the earlier editions of the Testament was a merchant-adventurer of Antwerp, Mr. Harman, who seems to have applied to Queen Anne Boleyn for redress. The Queen listened to the plea which was urged in his favour, and by her intervention he was restored to the freedom and privileges of which he had been deprived. Tyndale could not fail to hear of her good offices, and he acknowledged them by a royal gift. He was at the time engaged in superintending the printing of his revised New Testament, and of this he caused one copy to be struck off on vellum and beautifully illuminated. No preface or dedication or name mars the simple integrity of this copy. Only on the gilded edges in faded red letters runs the simple title *Anna Regina Angliæ*."—Westcott, *History*, p. 61.

The volume is now in the British Museum. It has been suggested that it may have been by the Queen's influence that an edition of Tyndale's revised New Testament, the first volume of Holy Scripture printed in England, was published

in London in 1536. This was the year in which she was put to death; and in October of the same year Tyndale suffered martyrdom. He was betrayed by a fellow-countryman, who had wormed himself into his confidence while living at Antwerp, and was taken to Vilvord, near Brussels. While lying in prison, he again revised his New Testament. He was burned at the stake, uttering as his last words the prayer, "Lord! open the King of England's eyes."

There is a grand simplicity in Tyndale's character and work, as there is in the English which he wrote. His utter unselfishness and his loyalty were both tried to the utmost; but the language which he used at the close of one of his prefaces was, no doubt, as honest as it was simple and humble:—

"My part be not in Christ if mine heart be not to follow and live according as I teach, and also if mine heart weep not night and day for mine own sin and other men's indifferently, beseeching God to convert us all and to take His wrath from us, and to be merciful as well to other men, as to mine own soul, caring for the wealth of the realm I was born in, for the king and all that are thereof, as a tender-hearted mother would do for her only son."

He, more than any other man, has left his mark upon the present English Bible; and when we wish to render praise to those who merit it for the noble language, and the no less noble pervading spirit of the translation we all know and love so well, to him, more than to any other man, or any body of men who have come after him, must that praise be given.

It was reserved, however, for his friend and immediate successor, Miles Coverdale, to have the honour of publishing the first printed English translation of the entire Bible. Coverdale, who was four years younger than Tyndale, is said to have been with the latter at Hamburg in 1529 when he was at work on the Pentateuch; and to his residence there may be attributed in part his preparation for the work he afterwards undertook. The facts connected with the history of his translation, as well as what we know of the character of the man, seem to justify Mr. Westcott's remark, that "from the first Coverdale appears to have attached himself to the liberal members of the old party, and to have looked to working out a reformation from within through them." Before his residence with Tyndale he was acquainted with Cromwell and More, and he appears to have acted on the advice of the former in printing his translation in 1535. In the December of the preceding year a resolution was passed in the convoca-

tion of Canterbury, that the Archbishop (Cranmer) should request his Majesty to "vouchsafe to decree that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue, by some honest and learned men to be nominated by the king, and should be delivered unto the people according to their learning." The place where Coverdale's work was printed has never been satisfactorily ascertained, though it is generally agreed that it issued from a German press. There is some confusion also with regard to its different title-pages, one (printed abroad) stating that the book is "faithfully translated out of Douche" (*i.e.* German) "and Latyn into Englishe," while two others (printed apparently in England) omit any reference to these two sources. Coverdale was anxious that the book should have the king's licence, that the free and authorised circulation of the Scriptures might thus be obtained. With a view to this he dedicated it to Henry VIII., expressing his willingness, if anything in it were translated amiss, that the king should "correct it, amend it, improve it, yea, and clean reject it," if his "godly wisdom" should think it necessary. But though the work was allowed to appear and to circulate without hindrance, it did not receive any definite sanction. In the following year, however, when a second and a third edition were called for, this tacit permission was exchanged for an open licence, as intimated on the title-pages of both. Coverdale did not look upon his translation as by any means perfect; he expected and desired that others should improve upon his work, and that his very deficiencies might lead them to attempt to do so. He regarded his own work as supplying a present want, and furnishing what might serve as a comment upon the sacred writings when compared with other versions. In 1538 he published a *Latin-English Testament*, having in one column the revised text of his New Testament, and in a parallel column the Latin Vulgate, to which he had greatly conformed his English version. He was abroad when the work appeared, and in his absence many mistakes had been made by the printer in the text of both versions, which compelled Coverdale to prepare a more correct edition, published at Paris in the course of the year.*

Leaving Coverdale for the present, we must go back a year to notice the publication of what is known as "Matthew's Bible." In 1537, a book appeared which had been printed somewhere

* We have taken no notice above of Cranmer's abortive attempt to translate the Bible, with the help of the bishops and others, in 1536. Strype in his account of it records an amusing anecdote of the obstinate conservatism of Stokesley, the Bishop of London.—*Mem. of Cranmer*, vol. i. p. 48.

abroad, but where is uncertain, and which was stated in the title-page to be "truly and purely translated into English by Thomas Matthew." It has been commonly supposed that this was a fictitious name, but it is quite possible that a person of that name may have assisted the real compiler. This was John Rogers, a friend of Tyndale, and to whom Tyndale, on the morning of his execution, had entrusted his manuscript translation of the books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2 Chronicles. The Bible which Rogers produced, with Matthew's help, was made up of Tyndale's version from Genesis to the end of Chronicles, of Coverdale's version for the rest of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, and of Tyndale's revision of 1535 for the New Testament. Rogers' initial stands at the end of a prefatory *Exhortation to the Study of Holy Scripture*, and Matthew's name is given at the end of the dedication to Henry and Queen Jane. The book met with great favour from Cranmer; and by his good offices, and Cromwell's advice, it received the king's sanction. Yet the work of Tyndale, which formed so large a part of it, had been often previously condemned by the same authority which now licensed its circulation in this form. Henry acted in this matter without any ecclesiastical support, and Foxe tells us that the "setting forth" of Matthew's Bible did not a little offend the clergy, especially some of the bishops, who were displeased with the prologues to the several books, as well as with a table of doctrinal commonplaces annexed to it, in which the Lord's Supper, and the marriage of priests, and the mass were examined by the light of the Scriptures. What renders this edition most noteworthy is that, to use Mr. Westcott's words, "from Matthew's Bible—itsself a combination of the labours of Tyndale and Coverdale—all later revisions have been successively formed. In that the general character and mould of our whole version was definitely fixed. The labours of the next seventy-five years were devoted to improving it in detail."

We come now to the publication of the Great Bible. The dislike of the clergy to Matthew's Bible, of which we have just spoken, may have been the reason why Cromwell, not many months after its publication, made arrangements for another translation. It was to be a revision of Matthew's edition, carried on with closer and more constant reference to the original texts, as well as to the Latin Vulgate. At Cromwell's request Coverdale undertook the work; and as it was desired that the book should be printed in Paris, because better paper and more skilful workmen were to be had there, a letter was

sent from Henry to the French king requesting permission for the execution of the work. A license was granted by Francis, in which, however, a clause was inserted, providing that the book so licensed should be without any private or unlawful opinions. The work was begun in the summer of 1538, but it was not long before Coverdale had reason to fear that his labours would be stopped. In December, he sent over to Cromwell the sheets which were already printed; and just in time; for four days after the work was prohibited by the Inquisitor-General of France, and the remaining sheets taken away. But Coverdale, who had kept out of the way for a season, soon returned, and succeeded not only in transporting to England both printers and presses, but also in getting possession of a large number of the printed sheets which had been sold for waste paper. The rest of the work was completed in April. Preparation had been already made by Cromwell for its appearance. In the previous September he had issued injunctions to the clergy that they should "provide on this side the feast of ——— next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English," which was to be set up in some convenient place within the various churches, where the parishioners might read it; the expenses of the book being shared between the parson and his people. The size of the Great Bible and the fact that the exact date was left blank prove that the order refers to the book then being printed in Paris. The clergy were also commanded not to hinder the people from reading the Scripture, but rather to exhort them to study it; and in a royal declaration, appointed to be read in all the churches, the people were admonished to read with due sobriety, and where they had any doubt as to the meaning, "not giving too much to their own minds, fancies, and opinions, nor having thereof any open reasoning in" their "open taverns or ale-houses," to have recourse to such learned men as were authorised to teach. On the reception which the Bible thus authorised met with, we may quote the testimony of Foxe:—

"It was wonderful," he says, "to see with what joy this Book of God was received, not only among the learned sort and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over by the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's Word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Everybody that could, bought the book, or busily read it; or got others to read it to them, if they could not themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose. And even

little boys flocked among the rest to hear portions of the Holy Scripture read."

In a public document drawn up in 1539 (quoted by Mr. Westcott, p. 106), it is said, that "Englishmen have now in hand in every church and place, and almost every man, the Holy Bible and New Testament in their mother tongue, instead of the old fabulous and fantastical books of the *Table Round*, *Lancelot du Lac*, &c., and such other, whose impure filth and vain fabulosity the light of God has abolished utterly." A second edition of the Great Bible was published in April, 1540, with a preface by Cranmer, from which the book is often called Cranmer's Bible, and within the next two years five more editions (with Cranmer's preface) appeared. Two of these editions bear the name of Tunstall on the title-page, the work having been looked over by him; and thus, by a strange irony, as Mr. Westcott remarks, "my Lord of London authorised what was in a large part substantially the very work of Tyndale, which he had before condemned and burnt."

An edition of the Bible published in the same year as the Great Bible may be noticed briefly, though it was superseded by the latter. It was the work of Richard Taverner, a learned lawyer, and famous Greek scholar, who afterwards, in the reign of Edward VI., received a licence as a preacher. His text is a revision of Matthew's, and in his marginal notes he has borrowed from the same source, adding merely a few notes by himself. His book came out in two editions, one in folio, the other in quarto, and a quarto and octavo edition of his New Testament appeared in the same year. In his dedication to the king he gives as the reason why he undertook the work, that as the printers were very desirous to have the Bible come forth as faultless as the shortness of time for the revising of it would allow, they requested him diligently to look over and peruse the whole copy, and, in case of any notable fault, to correct it according to the best exemplars.

The last few years of Henry's reign were a period of reaction as far as the progress of the English Bible was concerned. Many restrictions were imposed upon the reading of the Scriptures, but these can only be briefly referred to, without noticing the causes which led to their enactment. To speak of the political events of this and the following reigns would be to travel beyond the proper limits of our present subject. The Act of the Six Articles, passed in 1539, made it a crime punishable with death to deny the doctrine of

transubstantiation, the scriptural authority of half-communion, the celibacy of priests, the Divine legality of vows of chastity, the propriety of private masses, and the necessity of auricular confession. Thorough Reformers found the ecclesiastical supremacy of the king almost as full of peril to them as his independence of the power of the Pope was to those who believed in the Papal supremacy. Men were burned together at the stake because some of them as good Catholics denied the king's supremacy, and because others believed the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith. In 1542 a proposal was made in Convocation for a revision of the New Testament; but after the different books had been divided among the bishops, the scheme fell to the ground owing to the influence of Gardiner. He advocated the use of a large number of the terms employed in the Vulgate, with little or no alteration. In the following year an Act was issued ordering the destruction of all the copies of Tyndale's translation and the notes and prefaces to all other editions of the Bible, with severe penalties in case of disobedience. No one was to be allowed, without a license from the king or the ordinary, to read any part of Scripture aloud in church or in any public assembly. Persons of a certain specified rank might use the Bible as formerly; and every gentleman, who was a householder, might have it read to his own family and domestics in his own house; and every merchant man, being a householder, might read it privately. But no women, other than gentlewomen, no workmen, &c., and none of and under the degree of a yeoman were to be allowed to do so, on pain of a month's imprisonment. In 1546 it was further decreed that no person, of whatever rank, should after a certain date receive, have, take, or keep in his possession, the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation into English, or any other than that permitted by Act of Parliament in 1541-42, by which is meant, of course, the Great Bible. The penalty for disobedience was imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and a fine of any amount the Council should think fit to impose. In the January of the next year (1547) Henry died; and with the accession of Edward VI. there came a change in favour of the doctrines of the Reformers and the free circulation of the Scriptures. The restrictions just mentioned were removed, and it was decreed that before the end of the year a copy of the Great Bible, with a translation of the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels, should be set up in every church for the reverent but free use of the people at any time; and that every

ecclesiastical person under the degree of a Bachelor of Divinity should provide himself with the New Testament in Latin and English, and the book of Erasmus just mentioned. No step was taken during the reign of Edward towards a new translation. Cranmer, indeed, invited Bucer and Fagius over to England with a view to such a work, in which the former was to undertake the New Testament, and the latter the Old; but their illness and death thwarted his purpose. The efforts of Queen Mary were directed rather against the doctrines of the Reformers than the source from which they had drawn them; though the public reading of the Bible was prohibited, and many copies of it were burnt. Among the hundreds who were burnt at the stake in her reign was John Rogers, the friend of Tyndale, and editor of Matthew's Bible. One need scarcely add the name of Cranmer. Coverdale, who had been made Bishop of Exeter in Edward's time, was put under restraint, but after a time succeeded in making his way to Denmark, and thence to Geneva.

It was from the place just mentioned that the translation issued which must next be noted. In 1557 an edition of the New Testament was published at Geneva, with an introductory epistle by Calvin. The translator's name is not given; but the work has been attributed to Whittingham, Calvin's brother-in-law, and one of the English exiles then at Geneva. Its value was increased by the excellence of the marginal notes; and it is remarkable for being the first book in which the verses were printed in distinct paragraphs, as is now the common usage. Robert Stephens had first made the division into verses in his Greek Testament of 1551, but he merely inserted the numbers in the margin.* But this anonymous translation only prepared the way for a version of the whole Bible, which was printed at Geneva in 1560, with a dedication to Queen Elizabeth, who had now been on the throne for about a year and a half. It was the result of the labours of a number of the exiles for more than two years. Some of the members of the church at Geneva provided the means for executing the work; and it was addressed "To our beloved in the Lord, the brethren of England, Scotland, Ireland," &c. The version was made from the original, and was accompanied with a commentary in the margin. It speedily became popular, partly perhaps from its clear and vigorous notes, and its convenient size, being in quarto; and until the

* The Genevan translator also introduced italics where a word not in the original is added to give the full meaning.

appearance of the present authorised version—that is, for a period of more than fifty years—it was the common and favourite English Bible.

But the Bible which was authorised for public use in Queen Elizabeth's reign was not the Genevan, but the Great Bible. Following the example of Edward VI., she had issued an injunction in 1559, that a copy of the whole Bible "of the largest volume" should be placed in every church. The popularity of the Genevan Bible, and the objections made by the Puritans to the Great Bible, led to the execution of another revision. The undertaking was forwarded by Archbishop Parker, and Strype has given an account of the manner in which the work was done. Parker divided the whole Bible into different portions, and distributed these to some of the bishops and other learned men, to peruse and collate each of the books allotted to them, sending at the same time instructions as to the method to be observed. They were also to add some short marginal notes for the illustration or correction of the text. When all the portions were finished and sent back to the Archbishop, he was to revise them and take charge of the printing of the whole. The initials of the different persons engaged in the revision are annexed to the books which they prepared, and most of the persons thus indicated have been identified.* Some of Parker's assistants had singular notions of their work. A letter is quoted from Bishop Guest, in which he says, "I have not altered the translation [of the Psalms], but where it gave occasion of an error. As at the first Psalm at the beginning I turn the præterperfect tense into the present tense, because the sense is too harsh in the præterperfect tense. Where in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalms according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, for the avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people from divers translations." The work appeared in 1568, bearing on its title-page these words only, *The Holie Bible*. From the persons who had been engaged in the preparation of it, it got the name of the "Bishops' Bible." Parker tried to obtain a licence for it from the Queen; and in a letter to Cecil before its publication, he urged the necessity that there had been for the work being undertaken, the care bestowed upon it, and the fact that in

* A list of the names is given in the *History of English Translators and Translations*, prefixed to *Bagster's English Hexapla*, pp. 41, 42, and (from this source) by Mr. Westcott, p. 135, note.

some churches the Genevan Bible had been introduced, because it was thought superior to the Great Bible. The book never received any definite royal sanction; but Convocation ordered the adoption of it in every church, "if it could be conveniently done." It was reprinted afterwards in more than one form, but it never became popular. The Genevan version was the favourite one for private reading, while the Bishops' Bible took the place of the Great Bible in the churches.*

We must notice here, in passing, the publication of the Rhemish (Roman Catholic) version. The authorship of it is attributed to William Allen, Gregory Martin, and R. Bristow. Allen was Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in the time of Queen Mary; but on the accession of Elizabeth he left England and went over to Douay, where he established the Roman Catholic seminary there. He was afterwards made a cardinal. Gregory Martin, the opponent of John Fulke in the controversy on translations of the Bible, was one of the professors in the English seminary at Rheims, where he died in 1582. It was in this year that the Rhemish New Testament appeared, with numerous controversial notes, and a long and elaborate preface on vernacular versions of Scripture, the reasons for translating from the Vulgate, and the manner in which this edition had been prepared. The Old Testament was at this time ready for the press, but was not printed till the year 1609, when the whole Bible in this version was published in two volumes (the second dated 1610) at Douay. Hence the name by which it is, perhaps, most generally known.

We come now to the preparation of our present authorised version. At the Hampton Court Conference in January, 1604, soon after the accession of James, Dr. John Reynolds, one of the prominent members of the Puritan party, introduced the question of a new revision of the sacred text, quoting in support of his remarks some of the mistakes in the common versions. The Bishop of London (Bancroft) remarked in reply that if every man's humour were followed there would be no end of translating. King James, however, who presided over the conference, thought better of the proposal. He remarked that he could never yet see a Bible well trans-

* Mr. Westcott notices, as to the relative popularity of these two versions, that there are only six editions of the Bishops' Bible in quarto and one in octavo; all the others (thirteen in number) are in folio. Of the Genevan Bible, on the other hand, there are between 1568 and 1611 sixteen editions in octavo, fifty-two in quarto, and eighteen in folio.—*History*, p. 140.

lated in English, but the worst of all, in his opinion, was the Genevan. He wished that some special pains should be taken for one uniform translation, to be done by the most learned members of the two Universities, then reviewed by the bishops and most learned men in the Church, from them presented to the Privy Council, and lastly ratified by his own authority; "and so this whole Church to be bound unto it and none other." At a suggestion made by the Bishop of London, the king added that there must be no marginal notes, as some of those which he had seen in the Genevan version were very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits.* As far as the conference was concerned, the matter then dropped, but the king did not lose sight of it. In the following July he wrote to Bancroft (then acting as Archbishop of Canterbury, of which office he took formal possession some months afterwards), stating that he had appointed "certain learned men, to the number of four and fifty, for the translating of the Bible," and asking him to use means for providing the persons chosen with benefices in the Church as they might fall vacant. He was also to request all the bishops to inform themselves as to any scholars in their dioceses who had any special knowledge of the original languages and texts of the Scriptures, and to urge all such persons to send their observations on any difficult and obscure passages or mistranslations, "to Mr. Lively, our Hebrew reader at Cambridge, or to Dr. Harding, our Hebrew reader in Oxford, or to Dr. Andrews, Dean of Westminster," to be communicated by them to the different companies of translators. The king also took steps to secure means for the maintenance of the translators while they were engaged together at their work; but it is not very clear how far his efforts were effectual.

There is some doubt as to the time when the work of translation was actually commenced. Some of the scholars engaged on it seem to have begun soon after they were appointed; but the common opinion (followed by Mr. Westcott) is, that the regular work of revision was not commenced before 1607. The manner in which it was gone about was as follows. The translators were divided into six companies, and each company had a certain portion of the Bible assigned to them. One company, meeting at Westminster, translated from Genesis to 2 Kings inclusive; a second company, at Cam-

* In the passages quoted by James and in support of his criticism there does not seem to be much deserving these epithets.

bridge, from 1 Chron. to Ecclesiastes; a third, at Oxford, from Isaiah to Malachi; a fourth, at Cambridge, the Apocrypha; a fifth, at Oxford, the four Gospels, Acts and Apocalypse; a sixth, at Westminster, Romans to Jude inclusive. Only forty-seven names appear in the list which has been preserved; and it is possible that some of the fifty-four chosen by the king never actually took part in the work; but this, though the best explanation yet given of the difference between the two accounts, is not a very good one. We cannot here give the names, or any detailed account of what is known about the men who took part in this important work. As to their learning and ability, however, there can be no doubt.

"Of these scholars," says Mr. Westcott, "many (as Andrew, Overall, Savile, and Reynolds) have obtained an enduring reputation apart from this common work in which they were associated. Others, whose names are less familiar, were distinguished for special acquirements requisite for their task. Lively, Spalding, King and Byng, were successively Professors of Hebrew at Cambridge, and Harding and Kilbye at Oxford. Harmer and Perin were Professors of Greek at Oxford, and Downe at Cambridge; Bedwell was the most distinguished Arabic scholar of the time. Saravia was an accomplished modern linguist. Thomson (Camb.), Chatterton, Smith, and Boys were equally distinguished for their knowledge of ancient languages. It is one sign of the large choice of Hebraists which was offered at the time that Boys, who was especially famed for Oriental learning, was originally employed upon the Apocrypha."—*History of the English Bible*, p. 149.

Instructions were issued, by the king's authority, as to the manner in which the work was to be done. There are some variations in the different copies of these which have been given; but the list given by Bishop Burnet (in an appendix to his *History of the Reformation*) seems as correct as any. It is as follows:—

"1. The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original will permit.

"2. The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the other names of the text, to be retained as nigh as may be, accordingly as they were vulgarly used.

"3. The old ecclesiastical words to be kept, viz. the word *Church* not to be translated *Congregation*, &c.

"4. When a word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most of the ancient fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of the faith.

"5. The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all or as little as may be, if necessity so require.

" 6. No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text.

" 7. Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another.

" 8. Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and having translated or amended them severally by himself where he thinketh good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their parts what shall stand.

" 9. As any one company hath despatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for his majesty is very careful in this point.

" 10. If any company, upon the review of the book so sent, doubt or differ upon any place, to send them word thereof, note the place, and withal send the reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company at the end of the work.

" 11. When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority to send to any learned man in the land for his judgment of such a place.

" 12. Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand, and to move and charge as many as being skilful in the tongues and having taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford.

" 13. The directors in each company to be the Deans of Westminster and Chester for that place, and the King's professors in the Hebrew or Greek in either university.

" 14. These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible: Tindale's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's,* Geneva.

" 15. Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice-Chancellor upon conference with the rest of the Heads to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule above specified."

The last of these instructions was added to the rest after some time, probably when the necessity for such a rule had been discovered by experience. Selden, in his *Table Talk*, has a remark on the execution of this translation which appears to refer to the eighth rule. "The Translation of the Bible was given to him who was most excellent in such a tongue (as the Apocrypha to Andrew Downes), and then they met together, and one read the Translation, the rest holding

* The Great Bible of 1539 was printed by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch.

in their hands some Bible, either of the learned Tongues, or French, Spanish, Italian, &c.; if they found any fault, they spoke; if not, he read on." From the account given in the preface to the work when it was finished, we learn that the time spent in this revision by the different companies was rather more than two years and nine months. At the end a copy of the entire Bible was made out by those assembled in each of the three places (Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster); and six persons, being two from each place,* were appointed to meet in London, and once more revise the whole. This final review occupied nine months, and the work was then ready for the press.

Everyone is acquainted with the dedication to King James, in which that "most dread Sovereign" is addressed in language rather strange to our ears, hailing his "appearance as of the Sun in his strength," after "the setting of that bright occidental star, Queen Elizabeth, of most happy memory." But the preface, written by Dr. Miles Smith, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, no longer appears in our Bibles, though much more worthy of the honour. In it the writer enlarges upon the value of the Word of God, and the propriety of rendering it into the vernacular, defends himself and his fellow-translators from the attacks of Romish opponents and the suspicions of others, and speaks of the care bestowed upon the execution of the undertaking. "We did not," he says, "run over the work with that posting haste that the Septuagint did, if that be true which is reported of them, that they finished it in seventy-two days. . . . The work hath not been muddled up in seventy-two days, but hath cost the workmen, as light as it seemeth, the pains of twice seven times seventy-two days and more." They were far from condemning the labours of those who had gone before them, but gladly acknowledged their merits and awarded them due praise. "Truly, good Christian reader, we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation nor yet to make of a bad one a good one . . . but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones one principal good one, not justly to be excepted against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark. To that purpose there were many chosen that were greater in other men's eyes than in their own, and that sought the truth rather than their own praise." After referring to the other versions they had used, he adds,

* "Two members were chosen from each company," says Mr. Westcott; but we think the evidence goes to prove that "*place*," not "*company*," should be read, and that the total number was *six*, and not *twelve*.

"neither did we disdain to revise that which we had done, and to bring back to the anvil that which we had hammered; but having and using as great helps as were needful, and fearing no reproach for slowness, nor coveting praise for expedition, we have at the length, through the good hand of the Lord upon us, brought the work to that pass that you see." The Bible, thus announced, was published in 1611. It was printed by R. Barker, with the title as it still appears. With reference to the words, "appointed to be read in churches," Mr. Westcott points out the remarkable fact that no evidence has yet been produced to show that the version was ever publicly sanctioned by Convocation or by Parliament, or by the Privy Council, or by the King. "It gained its currency, partly it may have been by the weight of the king's name, partly by the personal authority of the prelates and scholars who had been engaged upon it, but still more by its own intrinsic superiority over its rivals." For some years the Genevan version continued to be read by many, but within fifty years it had entirely given way to the new version. And so this translation of the Word of God, the result of the labours during long years of many faithful men, with an external history so full of interest, became the Bible of the English race.

Thus far we have been engaged in tracing very rapidly the external history of the English Bible. The second part of our subject, which for some will have still more interest, yet remains: to examine by what successive steps and under what variety of influences our English version came to assume its present form. To the statement of his inquiries and conclusions upon these and kindred questions Mr. Westcott has devoted the larger half of his book, and, as careful readers of it will agree, with the most satisfactory results. But in order to secure accurate conclusions as to many of the points involved in such inquiries, it is necessary to enter into many minute details, and to give more or less full, and therefore lengthy, collations of different versions. One of the best things about Mr. Westcott's book is the thoroughness with which this sort of work is done, and the minute and trustworthy nature of his statements as compared with the vague generalisations of those who have previously dealt with the subject. But it is obvious that we cannot attempt to present a detailed account here of the results arrived at, and the way in which they have been attained. We must merely give a very condensed view of the chief points relating to the sources of the different versions, referring our readers to Mr. Westcott's work for fuller and more satisfactory information.

Before Tyndale published his first edition of the New Testament there was a fairly adequate supply of grammars and dictionaries for the study of Hebrew and Greek; the Latin Vulgate had been printed for seventy years; the Hebrew Bible, with the Targums and other Jewish commentaries, had been published; the Septuagint had been rendered accessible in the Complutensian Polyglott; the Greek Testament edited by Erasmus had appeared; and Luther had just published his German translation. Tyndale's knowledge of Greek and Hebrew is proved by the testimony of others, but quite as clearly by the character of his version and his own words; there is reason, however, to believe that when he published his New Testament he was not yet thoroughly acquainted with German. An examination of his version shows that he translated directly from the Greek, while consulting the Vulgate and the Latin translation of Erasmus, and referring to the German of Luther. He frequently follows the Latin version given by Erasmus in his edition of the Greek Testament. The changes in the revised edition of 1534 are in the direction of a closer approximation to the original Greek, and of greater clearness in bringing out the meaning of the original. Luther's influence is more marked, but it is evident that his version was used by Tyndale with great independence, the changes made in this revision being quite as often at variance as in accordance with the renderings of the German. Tyndale's independence of Luther in his work as a translator is very remarkable, because his other writings bear the strongest marks of the great influence of the Reformer's writings upon him. In many places he has silently translated from Luther; and in his prologues to the different books of Scripture he has borrowed very largely from him. Yet even here his omissions are characteristic. The edition of 1535 indicates a still closer conformity to the Greek, with an endeavour to secure a more idiomatic style. In his translation of the Pentateuch, Tyndale deals with the Hebrew as he had done with the Greek of the New Testament, and his "Epistles from the Old Testament," appended to the revision of 1534, show signs of his continual labour in the parts which are taken from the Pentateuch. As Tyndale's work stands in such close relation to our present version, we cannot but quote the words in which Mr. Westcott speaks of his influence on our Bible:—

"This patience of laborious emendation completes the picture of the great translator. In the conception and style of his renderings he had nothing to modify or amend. Throughout all his revisions he preserved intact the characteristics of his first work. Before he

began, he had prepared himself for a task of which he could apprehend the full difficulty. He had rightly measured the momentous issues of a vernacular version of the Holy Scriptures, and determined once for all the principles on which it must be made. His later efforts were directed simply to the nearer attainment of his ideal. To gain this end he availed himself of the best help which lay within his reach, but he used it as a master and not as a disciple. In this work alone he felt that substantial independence was essential to success. In exposition or exhortation he might borrow freely the language or the thought which seemed suited to his purpose; but in rendering the sacred text he remained throughout faithful to the instincts of a scholar. From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English Version. For not only did Tyndale contribute to it directly the substantial basis of half of the Old Testament (in all probability) and of the whole of the New, but he established a standard of Biblical translation which others followed. It is even of less moment that by far the greater part of his translation remains intact in our present Bibles, than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed he left to those who should come after the secret of success. The achievement was not for one but for many; but he fixed the type according to which the later labourers worked. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so by its simplicity it should be endowed with permanence. He felt by a happy instinct the potential affinity between Hebrew and English idioms, and enriched our language and thought for ever with the characteristics of the Semitic mind."—*History of the English Bible*, pp. 209—211.

Compared with that of Tyndale, Coverdale's work is a secondary translation. He himself states that he translated it "purely and faithfully out of five sundry interpreters, having only the manifest truth of the Scripture before" his eyes. An examination of his Bible shows that his translation is founded mainly on the Swiss-German version of Zwingle, Pellican, Leo Juda, and others, published at Zurich in 1524—1529, and on the Latin translation from the Hebrew of Sanctes Pagninus (1527). He also consulted the Vulgate and Luther's German translation; and his fifth interpreter was most probably Tyndale. His dependence upon the Zurich translation is so great that his version is described as almost being, in the Pentateuch, that translation rendered into English by the help of Tyndale, with constant reference to Luther, Pagninus, and the Vulgate. In the other books of the Old Testament, it is almost the same. The New Testament is based on Tyndale's first edition, with constant

reference to the second, and to the German of Luther. Coverdale sought to render his version easy and melodious, and in doing so he sometimes became diffuse. His comprehensiveness of spirit and work may be regarded as the fitting complement of Tyndale's sterner, it may be stronger, character and unswerving efforts towards a single aim.

Matthew's Bible, superintended by John Rogers, is composed of Tyndale's published translation of the Pentateuch, of his unpublished translation of the books from Joshua to 2 Chronicles inclusive, of the remaining books of the Old Testament and of the Apocrypha from Coverdale, and of the New Testament from Tyndale. Tyndale's authorship of the translation of the historical books in Matthew's Bible is confirmed by a comparison of the work with the portions of the same books translated by him in the "Epistles of the Old Testament," annexed to the revised New Testament of 1534. The same relation is found to exist between them as between his published version of the Pentateuch and the passages in these "Epistles" taken from it. In the passages from the prophets and the Apocrypha the version given by Tyndale in the same "Epistles" has not been used by Rogers, Coverdale's text being closely followed by him. In the New Testament, Tyndale's revised text of 1535 has been adopted with very slight changes; and the discovery of this fact, which a comparison of the two clearly establishes, disposes of the supposition which has been sometimes entertained, that Rogers must have revised the text throughout, because the text of the New Testament in his (Matthew's) Bible differs so much from Tyndale's revision of 1534. The adherence to the revised text of 1535 is so close, that some of its mistakes have been adopted.

The Great Bible was, as we have already seen, edited by Coverdale, and was a careful revision of Matthew's Bible. In the Old Testament great use has been made of the Latin translation from the Hebrew, with an accompanying commentary, published by S. Münster in 1534-5. Coverdale had not apparently seen this work when his own Bible was printed (in 1535), but having become acquainted with it in the interval, he revised the text for the Great Bible by the help of it. The Great Bible, it will be remembered, was published in 1539 after a rather adventurous passage through the press; and the fact that, in the second edition in 1540, the text of the prophetic books has evidently undergone a more complete revision by the help of Münster's book, may be accounted for by the haste with which that part of the work had to be executed

in the first case. The greatest variations in this second edition (Cranmer's) are in the parts where Coverdale was correcting his own version. The New Testament was revised principally by the help of the Vulgate and the Latin version of Erasmus. An analysis made by Mr. Westcott, of the variations in the first Epistle of St. John, shows seventy-one differences between Tyndale's text of 1534 and that of the Great Bible, of which forty-three come directly from Coverdale's earlier revision (and in a great measure indirectly from the Latin), seventeen from the Vulgate where Coverdale had not followed it before, and the remaining eleven from other sources. In the second edition (1540) the New Testament was again revised, and the changes made show, in some cases, the influence of the Vulgate, in many more that of the Complutensian Polyglott, but in by far the greatest number that of the version of Erasmus. "What Münster was for the Old Testament, Erasmus was, in a great measure, for the New." It was from the Great Bible that the Psalter was taken, which still holds its place in the Prayer-book. Introduced in the time of Edward VI., it has never since been removed. Its being well known to the people, and its being "smoother and more easy to sing," secured its retention when the Prayer-book was last revised in 1662.

The translators of the Genevan Bible were able to consult, in addition to the earlier versions, the new and important Latin versions of Leo Juda, Bibliander, and Pellican (1544), of Castalio (1551), and Beza (1556), with the French translations of 1545 and 1551. In the revision of the Old Testament they took the Great Bible for the foundation of their work, correcting it so as to make the renderings more literal and nearer the Hebrew. An examination of different passages shows the influence, varying in importance, of Pagninus, Leo Juda, and Münster. That of the French Bible is seen most in the Apocrypha. The revision of the New Testament is described by Mr. Westcott as being little more than the application of Beza's translation and commentary to Tyndale's Testament in three successive stages: first in the separate New Testament of 1557, next in the Bible of 1560, and lastly in the New Testament of L. Tomson in 1576.* "The revisers undoubtedly exercised an independent judgment in following his renderings. They did not adopt all the alterations which

* This revision by Lawrence Tomson is professedly based on Beza's version, and is accompanied by a commentary mainly translated from his. Published in 1576, it became so popular that in subsequent editions of the Genevan Bible it was frequently printed instead of the New Testament of 1560.

he suggested ; and at times they introduced original phrases ; but by far the greater part of the changes which were made in the text of Tyndale were simply due to Beza." This has frequently been lost sight of. On the whole, as far as the interpretation of the text is concerned, Beza's influence may be regarded as beneficial.

The circumstances which led to the production of the Bishops' Bible have been already noticed. To introduce into the text of the Great Bible only such changes as were necessary to render it more popular was the main object ; but the design was very unequally carried out. The Old Testament is in this respect much inferior to the New ; and the alterations in the former are less frequent in the historical books than in the others, and in many cases are due to the Genevan version. The revision of the New Testament is much more important, an examination of one chapter, for example (Ephesians iv.), showing that of twenty-six variations from the Great Bible, as many as seventeen are new, while nine are due to the Genevan version ; and the revisers have evidently followed the original Greek with great care. The New Testament which appeared in the second edition of 1572 had been again revised with much care.

The Rhemish Bible is a secondary translation based on the Vulgate, being indeed a mere reproduction of it in English, with its technicalities and its obscurity. It has no independent value as a translation of the original texts. " Its merits, and they are considerable, lie in its vocabulary. The style, so far as it has a style, is unnatural, the phrasing is most unrhythmical, but the language is enriched by the bold reduction of innumerable Latin words to English service."

Before the appearance of our Authorised Version, the new Latin translations of Arius Montanus and Tremellius had been published ; and the Genevan French Bible (1587-8), Diodati's Italian Version (1607), and two Spanish versions (1569 and 1602), had appeared. But the chief influence which is seen in the revision of 1611 is that of two different versions. Our Authorised Version differs from the Rhemish Version in seeking to fix an intelligible sense on the words rendered : it differs from the German Version in leaving the literal rendering uncoloured by any expository notes. And yet it is most worthy of notice that these two versions, representing as they do the opposite extremes of opinion, contributed most largely of all to the changes which the revisers introduced. An analysis of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah shows that about seven-eighths of the changes are due to the

Genevan Version, two to Tremellius, two to Pagninus, and that one is independent. In the Apocrypha it comes nearer to the that Bishops' Bible. The revision of the New Testament is described by Mr. Westcott as a careful examination of the Bishops' Version (1572) with the Greek text, and with Beza's, the Genevan, and the Rhemish Versions. Striking illustrations of the use of this last Version might be given, many phrases being found, in the epistles especially, which are common to the Rhemish and Authorised Versions alone. After giving several very interesting analyses of the alterations introduced, Mr. Westcott remarks :—

“No kind of emendation appears to have been neglected, and almost every change which they introduced was an improvement. They did not in every case carry out the principles by which they were generally directed; they left many things which might have been wisely modified; they paid no more attention than was commonly paid in their time to questions of reading; but when every deduction is made for inconsistency of practice and inadequacy of method, the conclusion yet remains absolutely indisputable that their work issued in a version of the Bible better—because more faithful to the original—than any which had been given in English before.”

And with these words we must conclude our survey of the history of the English Bible, though it is a history which the more carefully it is examined becomes more full of interest, and more suggestive of many far-reaching questions.

- ART. II.—1. *Upplysningar om Läseriet*. Af F. THORELIUS. Stockholm. 1855. [*Illustrations of Pietism*. By F. THORELIUS.]
2. *Teckning af Carl Olof Rosenii Lif och Werksamhet*. Stockholm. 1868. [*Sketch of the Life and Labours of C. O. Rosenius*.]
3. *Sverige's Sköna Litteratur*. Af P. WIESELGREN. Lund. 1833. [*Wieselgren's Polite Literature of Sweden*.]
4. *Notes of a Tour in Sweden*. By the Rev. E. STEANE, D.D., and the Rev. H. HINTON, M.A. London. 1859.
5. *Tellström and Lapland*. By G. SCOTT, formerly Missionary in Sweden. London. 1868.

It cannot be said that a kingdom, where Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII., and Bernadotte have reigned, is deficient in historic events; or that the birthplace of Oxenstjerna, Linnæus, Berzelius, and Tegnér, lacks interest for the admirers of statesmanship, science, and poetry. Our merchants know Sweden because of its pine forests, and our steel manufacturers prize the underground treasures with which it ministers to their craft.

We propose at present to deal with the religion of Sweden, or rather with that phase of it to which the title of this article answers; the term "Methodism" being taken in a generic sense as expressing substantially what is meant in Germany by "Pietism," and in Sweden by "Läseriet."*

The Gospel was first preached in Sweden, A.D. 830, by Ansgarius, a devoted and self-denying missionary from France, and in course of time Popery became so dominant that the wealth of the country was locked up in religious houses, and the supreme power was so completely in the hands of the hierarchy, that the bishops from their fortified castles hurled defiance at the sovereign and his measures. Gustavus Vasa, having delivered his country from the iron yoke of Denmark, saw the necessity of destroying the Papal supremacy, in order to secure the liberties of his people and the legitimate influence of the throne. By a sagacious policy, he succeeded in changing the religion of Sweden, and the assembled states declared at Westeras, in 1527, in favour of the Reformation. Thenceforward, the Swedish Church was Lutheran. The

* The term "Läsare," distinguishing the Swedish pietists, is in English "Readers," and one or the other word will be used in the following pages, according to the scope of the Swedish language.

Reformation, however, was accomplished *for* the people, and not *by* it. The King ordered that no change, visible to the eye, should be made in public worship; and the vestments of the clergy, the decorations of the altar, and even the holy water in the church porches, remained as before, though the liturgy was now read in Swedish instead of Latin. It was melancholy proof at once of the ignorance of the people as to the change which had passed upon the National Church, and of their superstitious deference to Popish customs, that serious commotions followed in different parts of the land, the peasantry demanding the restoration of the Latin Mass, on the ground, as they said, that the sacredness was gone from their church service, when any boy among them could read the prayers as well as the priest. Luther is reported to have complained of the merely political character of the Swedish reformation. Certain it is, that whilst succeeding monarchs did everything in their power to perfect the organisation of the Lutheran Church, and to bind upon the clergy a mechanical round of onerous duties, little or no trace of spiritual life can be found in Sweden for nearly two centuries after.

Strange as it may seem, the disastrous wars of Charles XII. had much to do with the rise of Methodism in his native country. Dean Wieselgren tells us that at the beginning of the year 1700, there were in Sweden friends of the German pietist Spener, and that—

“Among the brave Carolinians, as the troops of Charles were called, when they were mourning as prisoners by the rivers of Siberia, a deeper sense of need was awakened, the need of a heavenly life in harmony with God and man, a life which blooms mid the storms of this earthly life, is purified by its fires, and raises itself under its burdens. And soon these heroes, who were fired with martial zeal when surrounding their king, were found gathered around Baron Creutz or other pious friends, and laying aside the sword, they clasped their lion paws in prayer to the Lamb of God. Marvellous was this work of God, for while the officers corresponded with Francke, or were found kneeling beside the huts of Tobolsk, the army chaplains hastened to rear a theatre, condemning in their sermons the praying men as quakers and enthusiasts, and declaring the theatre to be a good fruit of Christian liberty.”—*Sköna Litteratur*, vol. i. p. 295.

When the remnant of Charles' army found its way back to Sweden, the influence of the godly soldiers was felt in several neighbourhoods, and a religious awakening followed amongst young clergymen, students at the universities, artisans, and peasants. The writings of Spener, Francke, and Arndt, as

well as those of Luther, were translated and spread in the land; and although conventicle laws were passed, and, for a time, stringently enforced, the new fire was not extinguished. A small but united band in Stockholm met to read and pray on Sunday evenings; and, to elude the vigilance of the police, changed their place of meeting weekly, announcing at the close of one meeting where the next was to be held. For a time they were unmolested. On one occasion, however, whilst engaged in religious exercise, heavy footsteps on the stair gave notice of a surprise. The manner in which they are said to have met the emergency is more creditable to their ingenuity than to their Christian straightforwardness. Hastily removing their devotional books, they covered the table with ale bottles and packs of cards. Presently a police officer entered, and, seeing what he did, turned sharply to some one behind him (the informer, no doubt), and reproached him for deceiving him. "You promised to introduce me to a conventicle. These are no pietists; they are genuine Lutherans."

We have had a remarkable "awakening" described to us, which occurred shortly after this period in the neighbourhood of Pitea, in the far north of Sweden. The farm servants of both sexes, having the Sunday evening at liberty, used to assemble at certain haunts of dissipation and spend the time in all kinds of evil. On one occasion, whilst a dancing party was on the floor, one of the dancers, a young man, suddenly stood still, and with every sign of alarm, expressed aloud his belief that they were all going to ruin with their eyes open. He retired to a corner of the room, and sat down. The merriment was at an end, and all gathered round Anders Anderson for an explanation. He could not account for the impulse that had come upon him, but declared that by God's help he would never spend his Sundays in this way again. When asked how he thought the only time they had for recreation ought to be occupied, he replied that though a Lutheran Christian, he knew very little of the Bible, and would commence reading it. Many joined him in this, adding to it the reading of Luther's sermons, and great good resulted. Subsequently the converts spent part of the Sunday in visiting extensively in the district, holding meetings for reading and prayer; and it is calculated that about thirty thousand persons were brought, in a greater or less degree, under the influence of a living Christianity.

In the south of Sweden a few converted clergymen laboured successfully to bring their hearers into Christian light; and the pietism thus originated took various forms, according to

the different views held on subordinate matters by those who promoted it. Between the gentle softness of Hoof, and the stern rigidity of Schartau, many intermediate types of religious life and character might have been distinguished.

Thorelius informs us that—

“The name *Läsare* arose in the beginning of the last century in Norrland. Pious persons living at too great a distance from the church to attend regularly, were accustomed to meet and read the Bible and Luther's writings. This took place with the approbation and encouragement of the pastor. Their reading showed its result in their life, and they were found to be serious Christians and good citizens, most attentive at once to spiritual and secular duties. But in such recreations as dancing, card playing, and convivial meetings, they took no part; all swearing was laid aside, and they carefully remembered the Sabbath-day to keep it holy. In such a neighbourhood two parties appear. One, having found that the common way of the world cannot be the narrow way which leads to life, seek, by diligently meditating on the word of God, light as to what they must avoid and secure that they may obtain peace and salvation; they become in conviction and conduct more and more unlike their former selves, and their former associates. But as this difference on the whole clearly harmonizes with God's word and an enlightened conscience, the other party, not being disposed to submit to any spiritual change, and feeling disturbed and condemned, take their revenge and tranquillise themselves by crying ‘*Läseriet!*’ By this, the unawakened fancy that the new spiritual life is a delusion, its leaders deceivers, its fruit evil, its operations destructive. Of this many startling proofs might be readily given.”—Pp. 7—9.

It must be admitted that great diversity of sentiment and practice obtained amongst *Läsare*, and that some went to extremes. Still, Thorelius was right in the main, when he wrote:—

“The real foundation for the bitterness manifested towards the *Läsare* is unfolded in the words of Jesus to His disciples, ‘If ye were of the world, the world would love his own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you;’ ‘Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake;’ ‘Every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.’”—P. 18.

Thorelius further states, that in the north and east of Sweden—

“The *Läsare* highly value their meetings (conventicles), as being specially serviceable in promoting the awakening and nourishing of spiritual life; they frequent these meetings on Sabbath evenings,

and also occasionally on the week days after working hours. The Bible is read as well as other religious books written by Luther, Arndt, Roos, Rambach, &c. No one person is leader, but each who has any edifying matter to advance is at liberty to give his thoughts and experiences, which it is desired should be done in the most simple and artless manner. Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs are sung, and prayer is offered freely from the heart. The more experienced give the younger instruction and counsel both as to spiritual and worldly matters."—P. 32.

Elsewhere he says :—

"If by the Church we understand all those who by baptism have been received as members, then the Church cannot be the same as 'the communion of saints,' seeing the members of the latter are such as have a genuine faith in Christ, and live according to His precepts, a description which by no means applies to the majority of church members. If Läsare are a sect, they are so in the same sense as the communion of saints constitutes a sect in the Holy Catholic Church. Läsariet is a spiritual movement produced by God's word and man's spiritual need, as the result of which men become separated spiritually, and those thus separated are regarded by the many as embracing a novelty, strange and foreign to the Church, whilst in fact they only carry out, with practical decision, what all have been pledged to; and far from this course being foreign to the Church, it is really the right apprehension and manifestation of the life of the Church."—P. 36.*

No one man ever did so much to extend Methodism in the Swedish Lutheran Church as Carl Olof Rosenius, who, for a quarter of a century, exercised a greater influence over all the Methodists in the land than any other individual. His memoirs have just been published at the office of the *Pietist*, in Stockholm (embellished by a beautiful and faithful likeness), and from these and other sources we are able to furnish some particulars of a history which is intimately bound up with that of Swedish Methodism.

The father of Rosenius was born in Pitea, in 1780, and became a clergyman of the Lutheran Church. Himself Läsare, he laboured to promote the cause of spiritual religion. Wherever he went, effects like those which followed the first preaching of the Gospel followed his ministry; and though the Consistory of Hernösand moved him from place to place, in the hope of extinguishing the flame, the only result was to fan it and to spread it the more widely.

* See an article entitled, "Revival of Religion in Sweden," in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for 1836.

Carl Olof, born fifty miles north of Umea, in February, 1816, was the third of seven children. In his early youth, Rosenius manifested great seriousness; and in the year 1830, an old book, which he took up in the refreshment room of a road-side inn—Doctor Eric Pontoppidan's *Mirror of Faith*—became to him what the vision near Damascus was to Saul of Tarsus. He now became zealous as a Christian, and, at school at Umea, suffered persecution for the rebukes which he administered to the wickedness of his schoolfellows. They called him "the little Reformer," "the second Luther," and, referring to his father's known character, said, jeeringly, "Your father, who brings so many to the new birth—tell us how he does it?"

The Memoirs proceed:—

"About a mile and a half from Umea lies a village called Röback, and at this time several Christians were found there who held devotional meetings every Sabbath. A peasant's wife generally led the meeting: though most unwilling to take this position, and frequently weeping as she took it, the earnest prayers of others constrained her. The brothers Anton and Carl Rosenius began to attend these meetings, and Carl, in whom spiritual life appeared more clearly in faith and confession, was urged to conduct one, and though not yet sixteen he consented, and frequently afterwards rendered this service. The unheard-of fact, that one of the schoolboys conducted pietist meetings, rapidly spread, and his fellows marked their view of such conduct by opening the window and casting mud on their pietist comrade, who, took no notice, but tranquilly proceeded with his exercise."

In 1833, Rosenius left the preparatory school at Umea, and entered the Diocesan Gymnasium or Grammar School at Hernösand. Here he resumed his devotional meetings, which, although most unpretending, not only provoked the open hostility of his fellow-students, but excited the displeasure of the clergy, and of the teachers in the Gymnasium. He writes to a friend:—

"The few poor friends here dare not gather in any number because of the opposition of the authorities. I therefore remain quietly at home reading Luther's *Postilla*. If any choose to come and listen, they may. If I am invited to a friend's house, I go. If I am asked to read, I do it."

Again he writes:—

"The friends are now dispersed. The few and small meetings we held, have given so much offence, that some of the great ones in the

city have rigidly examined those who opened their houses for us, and at length one of our number went to the Bishop to explain what was done at the meetings, and to ask if he could forbid them. This, however, he could not do. In order to put an end to our meetings, it has been resolved to hold large monthly gatherings in the assembly hall of the gymnasium, at which one of the city clergy is to preach. A sagacious arrangement! Meanwhile they cannot prevent our meeting together on Sabbath evenings."—*Teckning*, p. 6.

At Hernösand, Rosenius commenced that remarkable career of letter-writing, which he pursued so successfully for five-and-twenty years following. Many thousands of religious letters were written by him during this long period; and great numbers of persons in various parts of the country derived untold good from these scriptural, wise, tender, and seasonable products of Rosenius's intelligence and devotion.

Having received the Bishop's permission to preach where requested to do so, Rosenius occupied Stigsjö pulpit on Good Friday, 1836; and in several other places in the diocese, sometimes in the pulpit, sometimes standing in the choir, he preached to large congregations. Towards the close of 1838, Rosenius entered the University of Upsala, where his fidelity and zeal were rewarded abundantly with the kind of fruit he was most concerned to win. His residence at the University, however, was brought to a premature close by the failure of his health, as well as by a change of circumstances, fraught with most important issues, both for himself and for the cause of spiritual religion in his native land.

The same year in which Rosenius was converted, the year 1830, the Wesleyan Missionary Society in England resumed its mission to Stockholm. This mission, though in the first instance established for the benefit of English residents, had, as its main object, the promotion of true Christianity among the Swedes. The missionary was not long in learning that the ecclesiastical law prohibited all attempts at establishing nonconforming communities in the country, and he contented himself with seeking the conversion of Swedish Lutherans, without, in the least, disturbing their relation to the national church.

Rosenius's subsequent history connects itself closely with this Foreign Stockholm Mission as so conducted. His biographer says (we condense or omit a passage here and there in quoting him):—

"We have now arrived at an important period in the history of Rosenius, a period at which a revolution occurred in the plan,

cherished from his earliest youth, of following in his father's footsteps as a clergyman in the national church. He was now led into a new path, and a wholly novel form of working. The change was more outward than inward. The same zeal which had been conspicuous in the youth at Umea school, and which had constrained him in defiance of all opposition to confess the hope that was in him, was equally manifested now, although with more established decision. Instead of working as an ordained minister, according to his former expectation, he laboured as a layman, retaining, however, all his regard for the creed and ordinances of his church, his life-purpose being still to observe that to which the clerical oath pledged him, viz., 'To consecrate all his powers of soul and body to the Lord's service.' But as not only his labour, but also the very form of it, exerted an incalculable influence on the development and direction of the spiritual movement which in later years has pervaded our beloved land, it is important that we ascertain whether Rosenius, at the time to which we now refer, acted according to a previously arranged plan; a purpose of his own forming, or whether, contrary to his own will, he was conducted by Divine guidance in this matter, so that the Lord God himself led him into the work in which he subsequently laboured. Certain it is that many thousands in Sweden have not the slightest doubt on this subject, seeing in his labours, and in his labours as a layman, a Divine creation."—*Teckning*, pp. 30—33.

His health demanding relaxation from severe study, whilst the straitened circumstances of his parents compelled him to earn his own bread, he obtained a situation as tutor in a noble family, near Stockholm, and entered on his duties in May, 1839, his mind being at the time in great disquiet, partly through personal and family affliction, partly as the result of an agony of religious scepticism in which he was struggling.

Writing to a clerical friend, Rosenius says:—

"I felt a longing desire to consult with some enlightened believer, to whom I could express my difficulties, and see whether they could be removed. But whither should I turn? No doubt there were many clergymen in the capital; but I needed an experienced spiritual man, and men of this stamp were few. At this juncture I heard a report of a spiritual work, such as was not common here, and, what was a good sign to me, accompanied by the world's railing. This was conducted by an English minister named Scott. Here, I thought, is one who practises the cure of souls; he will understand my perplexities, and I should like to know what he will say about them."—*Teckning*, p. 37.

In the middle of August, 1839, Rosenius visited the Wesleyan Missionary, and had a lengthened conversation with

him, which, to some extent, afforded him relief. In the letter just quoted he goes on to say :—

“ A week afterwards I visited Mr. Scott again, and to his inquiry, ‘ How is it with you now ? ’ I was obliged to reply, ‘ Everything is as uncertain as before. ’ He now gave me singular advice. He said, ‘ I suppose that not only do doubts concerning Scripture arise within you, but better thoughts, occasionally, of an opposite kind. ’ ‘ Yes, ’ I replied, ‘ it is so. ’ ‘ Then, ’ he said, ‘ write down both kinds of thought, and consider them slowly and carefully. In *your* temptation the power of the enemy consists in perplexing and confusing your thoughts. He is the spirit of darkness, and hates the light and all serious investigation. Place on paper your thoughts, *for* and *against*, and then see which preponderate. ’ I went away with this, to me, strange advice, but the Lord blessed it wonderfully, and in three days afterwards I arrived at so great a certainty as to the divinity of Holy Scripture, and the truth of all that it contains, that I was at once amazed and gladdened. I trembled and wept in my solitary chamber, and cried out, ‘ All is true, perfectly true, divinely true, and all remains, the supposed loss of which caused me such sorrow. ’ I not only saw all that I had before seen, but my eyes appeared to be strengthened, so that I saw everything more clearly than ever. I received again my former child-like confidence in God ; I had grace to believe in the forgiveness of my sins, I could afresh embrace my Saviour, the God of my life, and with Thomas exclaim, ‘ My Lord, and my God. ’ ”

The Memoirs continue :—

“ We have seen what led Rosenius to visit Pastor Scott. Friendship was now formed, and it continued. With all the difference in certain points of doctrine which existed and remained between the already-distinguished Englishman, and the yet partially-developed youth, brought up amid northern forests and old Lutheran Läsare, there was one point where they both met, even a burning zeal for the extension of Christ’s kingdom. During the latter part of 1839, Rosenius frequently visited Pastor Scott. After his week’s teaching he would come into Stockholm, some twelve miles, on Saturday afternoon, remaining till Sabbath evening or Monday morning.”—*Teckning*, p. 41.

“ Before going farther with the history of Rosenius, we will draw a little nearer the man who was the instrument of introducing him to that vocation of preaching and writing which, for a quarter of a century, he carried out with so much blessing to many : we refer to Pastor Scott. Let us see what led to his coming to Stockholm.

“ In the spring of 1804, Mr. Samuel Owen, an Englishman, came to Sweden, brought hither by Councillor Edelerantz, to erect the first steam engines in the country. Owen is not merely known as introducing the steam engine ; the Temperance Reform bears his name on the title-page of its history. He was a friend of industry, and could not but contend against intoxicating drinks as the worst enemy of

industry. Besides contending against this outward foe, he had also experienced, before his coming to Sweden, an inward change: anxiety for his soul's salvation and peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. He relates, himself, the immediate results of this inward change, thus:—'When I came to Sweden, I found no English church, nor any godly English people to associate with, so that my spiritual life declined, and I fell into many sins. In 1825, I made a journey to England, and complained to a friend that no English church existed in Stockholm. He advised me to go to the Wesleyan Missionary Society and request a missionary. I did so, and received the promise that one should be sent as soon as a suitable young man could be found. In a little more than a year Mr. Stephens arrived, and in about a year afterwards commenced preaching in Swedish. Crowds of people attended, so that the place became too small. The place was a garden pleasure-hall, which, for fourteen years, was given, rent free, by his Excellency Count De Geer. In the year 1830, Mr. George Scott came out, Mr. Stephens having returned the previous year, and he, in about a year, was able to preach in Swedish. The increasing attendance in the former place led to the determination to erect a suitable chapel. This building, commenced in 1838, was completed in 1840. When we applied for permission to build the chapel, the Consistory of Stockholm desired the King to forbid the use of any language but English. The liberal press assailed sharply this proceeding on the part of the Consistory, which brought a pamphlet in defence from Archbishop Wallin and the Consistory. As the Methodists were unmercifully attacked, Pastor Scott replied, in print, and the King in Council decided that the permission should be granted, without any reference to the prohibition proposed by the Consistory. On the 24th of October, 1840, the new chapel was opened by Pastor Brandell, from Norrland, who preached from Isa. lv. 10, 11; and on the following day Dr. Thomsander, Professor of Theology at Lund, afterwards bishop of that diocese, preached to a crowded audience, nearly 2,000 people, from Phil. i. 12—19."

"Returning to Rosenius, we have seen how he wrote to a friend in 1839. He spent his Christmas holidays that year in Stockholm, where he became better acquainted with the flock which, as the result of Pastor Scott's preaching, had been awakened from their thoughtless slumbers and led to seek salvation. He spent New Year's Day, 1840, in a circle of such friends, and was requested to read to them. A strange feeling arises in our heart, as, after twenty-seven years have passed, and in sight of the streams of living water which have flowed from the same lips, we look back on this first occasion when Rosenius opened the holy book in Stockholm, to administer its precious truths to hungry souls. He read the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and in a memorable manner expounded the words: 'The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all.'

"Meanwhile the friendship between Scott and Rosenius was confirmed. Many plans for the extension of Christ's kingdom in Sweden occupied the thoughts of these men of God, and formed the subject of

frequent consultations. The gifts and powers latent in Rosenius were apprehended by the penetrating glance of Scott, and he longed to fix Rosenius with the work in Stockholm, whilst not a word was spoken about it. Rosenius, on his side, sought the ripe experience of Scott to guide him with respect to his future course. 'He sought my advice,' writes Scott to an English journal, 'on many weighty matters affecting his spiritual life and his vocation, particularly as to his duty respecting the ministry. I felt the delicacy of my position, and declined advising him on that subject. He told me that, during his whole previous life, he had been preparing to enter the Lutheran Church as a clergyman, and that he might soon be ready for ordination; that he was convinced of the Gospel character of the Lutheran Church, and yet he hesitated to go forward. 'As soon as I am ordained,' he said, 'I become bound within my parish, and beyond its borders I cannot go.' He spoke of a deep and strong inward conviction that God had called him to more extended labours in His cause, though, at the same time, he dreaded thinking of himself more highly than he ought to think. He was exhorted to pray much and earnestly for divine direction; and the consequence was, he gave up all thought of ministerial ordination, and became a Swedish evangelist, working in the Word and by the Word wherever an opportunity offered.'—*Teckning*, pp. 42—44.

To a faithful friend in the north, Rosenius, after giving a sorrowful description of the general religious condition of the clergy and people in Sweden, goes on to say:—

"Pastor Scott needs help. Four years since, he wrote to his Committee at home, desiring a colleague, and received the reply that as the state of matters in Sweden was delicate and difficult, the Committee feared sending one who might not in all things agree with Pastor Scott, and so might rather hinder than forward the good work, but that the hope was indulged that God would raise up a Swede to aid in the vineyard. These words went through me like an arrow, and I thought, 'Is it I? Speak, Lord; for Thy servant heareth. Thou seest my anxious desire to be right at a time when Methodism is a battle-cry in my country. It is assailed by many; the conflict is severe; it has become a question before the Diet, for the Consistory has already tried all its strength against it, and lets it alone, taking the wise position of Gamaliel. It is now arranged that as soon as I can find a tutorship in the capital, I shall remove thither, and assist Pastor Scott in his labours; and thus, for my own guidance, become better acquainted with this movement. My way, my former way, is blocked up, and a new one opens before me.'

"The step taken by Rosenius, in order to labour more freely, though in another form than the clerical, for the extension of Christ's kingdom, was, meanwhile, severely judged by many of his former friends in the North. In the summer of 1840 he visited Norrland, and found that many of his old friends were deeply prejudiced against him because of his co-operation with Methodism, and

this especially near Umea, where he had many spiritual children, and where he in all the warmth of his first love had spent hours never to be forgotten. Still more severely did this prejudice grieve him when, in 1843, he spent some time in the neighbourhood of his birth-place. To his latest days he spoke of his painful experiences in this respect as having deeply affected his heart.

"We would remind those who yet express surprise at this co-working with one of another religious community, first of the state of religion in our country at the time, of the apathy and carelessness which prevailed in the capital and throughout the land, especially amongst the clergy of the National Church, as a contrast to whom Scott, with his zeal for vital Christianity, stood prominent. A second thought must be remembered, namely this, that Scott never laboured for any other manifest purpose than the reviving of the Swedish Church. If he had appeared as a schismatic, the relation of Rosenius to him would have been very different."—*Teckning*, pp. 55, 56.

To a clerical friend, who had been greatly alarmed by the report that Rosenius had forsaken the Lutheran Church, he writes:—

"First. I have to inform you that no Methodist clergyman turning our fellow-countrymen into Methodists is found in the capital, unless by Methodists you understand only living Christians. To become a Methodist in the ecclesiastical sense, it is necessary to leave your own creed and adopt theirs. But no one here labours for this, no one here has made this change. Second. From the above it follows, without gainsaying, that if I, by preaching in the chapel, and holding meetings in houses, with or without Pastor Scott's request, can work, not for Methodism as a denomination, but for Christianity, then, I have not desired, have not done more than a Dr. Thomsander, a Pastor Brandell, and several Lutheran clergymen have done. As no one can prove that Scott, or those who have aided him, Brandell, Thomsander, Lefstrom, and many others preach anything contrary to Christianity, the clear light of Christ's teaching, then, if this preaching is so perilous to our Swedish Zion, it follows that our Zion must be a kingdom of darkness. Third. If I henceforward co-operate with Methodist preachers during my brief life, this proceeds on the grounds and conditions already noticed, namely, that I spend my strength for Christ's Church, offering my life and all my powers to Christ and His bride, not to Wesley or Luther, who are dead, who were servants, but never aspired to be heads of the Church, I offer my life, my service, to the Holy Catholic Church, the members of which may be childish enough to say they are of Paul, of Cephas, of Apollos; to me it is all the same what name they assume; if they are Christ's, then are they my brethren, and I will serve them."

After an extended examination of the points of difference

betwixt the Wesleyan Methodists and the Lutherans, Rosenius proceeds:—

“With reference to the points in which the Methodists really think differently from us, I would remark: if it cannot be denied, but on the contrary, must be acknowledged, that Wesley was, and the bulk of Wesleyans are, notwithstanding their difference from us, true, vital, justified Christians; do you not think that God, with whom there is no respect of persons, who hears the prayers of all, has bestowed the light which is requisite for life and godliness? O, that we had a larger measure of the mind that was also in Christ Jesus, so that without bartering truth and conviction for love and forbearance, we yet possessed these Christian graces in a sufficient degree to enable us to hold our views of the sacraments faithfully, and allow them to hold theirs, and at the same time to acknowledge them as they acknowledge us to have a name amongst the living in Jerusalem, our brethren, members of the one body of which Christ is the only head.”

In the house of the Wesleyan missionary, Rosenius became acquainted with many friends of missions to the heathen, and was elected secretary to the Swedish Auxiliary Missionary Society, which was formed in January, 1841. He became intimate, among others, with M. Keyser, for many years chief manager of Bible and tract affairs in Sweden; and as long as he lived, Rosenius had in him a wise and faithful friend, and one who never failed him in troublous times. In 1841, Rosenius began to contribute to the *Missionary Journal*, a periodical which commenced its influential course in 1834; and in the early part of 1842 he became sole editor, holding this office for the rest of his life. In April, 1841, Pastor Scott went on a journey to England and America, from which he did not return till November. During his absence Rosenius conducted the Swedish services in the English chapel. Every week-day evening he held a meeting in a large hall on the premises for Bible reading and exposition. At first he wrote out his sermons for the Sunday evenings, but his rapidly increasing engagements affecting his health, he was compelled to limit his preparation to a brief outline filled up extemporaneously.

To his aged friend in the North, he wrote, under date June 25th, 1841:—

“I must now tell you that I have been summoned before the Consistory to answer for my services in the Methodist chapel. Called in the first instance by the Pastor Primarius—the High Priest—to a private interview, I was enabled to explain my position with confidence and clearness. This appeared to be so far satisfactory, that on the report being entered in the Consistory protocol, I heard no more about the matter. I have had the joy of seeing fruit of my labour,

some souls have found life and salvation in Christ, and others have again received light."

On Pastor Scott's return to Stockholm, Rosenius and he took the Swedish services by turns. The labours of Rosenius in the Pastor's absence had been prospered, and the number of hearers in the chapel had greatly increased. In the course of the month, Rosenius writes to his old friend:—

"This is a wonderful time in the capital: I wait with wonder and hope the issue of the signs surrounding us. Such a movement in the spiritual province, such a disturbance in the air and water, cannot be remembered here. Doctors and court chaplains have been forced to think, dispute, write more about Christ than they ever did or ever intended to do. They have been forced to this by a wild beast arisen in Germany, with tongue and pen sharpened to contend against the Lord and the kingdom of His anointed. His name is Strauss. He denies that Jesus is Christ. He would give to the world another God-mau, not the man Christ Jesus, but humanity in which God dwells. He that sitteth in the heavens laughs. Yet the agitation and the strife now begun is not yet ended. In a few days our learned men will sit in judgment and decide whether Christ shall continue on His throne, if the Lamb that was slain shall still reign. Say, have we not in this great world weighty questions? I fear that Christ is again before Pontius Pilate; but what then? He shall again break the seal of Pilate, and arise gloriously from the grave when His time is come."

The following extracts from the Memoirs of Rosenius will enable us to follow the history of Methodism in Sweden at this period:—

"At the close of 1841, it appeared desirable to issue a monthly journal as a vehicle of communication between the pious in the land, and in promotion of spiritual religion. The thought arose first in the mind of Pastor Scott. He spoke to several brethren, and in counsel with them the work was resolved upon. It was decided that the issue should commence with 1842; Scott being editor, with Rosenius as his helper. The spirit in which this new effort was commenced appears in the preface to the first number, where we read: 'This effort is commenced in the name of the Lord Jesus, it aims at His glory who has loved us and given Himself for us, and also the comfort and benefit of the godly. The editors beseech the faithful to unite with them in earnest prayer to Him who blesses every good undertaking, that if this effort is pleasing in His sight He may vouchsafe desired success, but if not according to His will, nor profitable for His spiritual children, that it may—the sooner the better—come to nothing.' More than twenty-six years have passed since the above words were written, and the *Pietist* in extraordinary numbers still

goes forth over the whole land. The amount of good which this unpretending periodical has effected in the militant Church of God, will only be known when the light of eternity reveals it."—*Teckning*, pp. 68, 69.

"The position taken by Pastor Scott in Sweden, his unintermitting labours to awaken the Swedish Church to greater life, and his zeal in the temperance cause, raised against him many enemies. He was assailed in the public papers in the most bitter terms. Although with praiseworthy freedom from all party spirit he had never sought to proselytise to Methodism, but only endeavoured to arouse the slumbering Lutherans within the Church, he was charged by his foes with Sectarianism. Besides this hostile spirit, which had long existed, Scott had during his journey in America faithfully described the religious state of Sweden; and one of his addresses had been grossly misrepresented by an enemy to friends in Sweden. The misrepresented statements were reproduced in the secular papers, and created an extraordinary amount of bitter hostility. It was of no avail that Pastor Scott published in Swedish the strongest statements he had made in America: the time had come for the ill-concealed hatred of the Methodist and his doings, which had for years been cherished, to burst forth. The ferment assumed a serious form on Palm Sunday, the 20th March, 1842, when a riotous mob attacked the English chapel during service, and obliged Pastor Scott to break off in the middle of his sermon, and to seek safety within the shelter of his dwelling. The immediate consequence of this was the closing of the chapel, and the removal of Pastor Scott from Sweden; as the authorities could no longer protect him in his Swedish work. Rosenius now stood alone as the leader of the flock and as editor of the *Pietist*."—*Teckning*, pp. 72, 73.

On May 3, 1842, Rosenius wrote to Pastor Scott, thus:—

"Beloved brother, thou hast sailed from us; compelled, in order to escape unpleasantness, or even an outbreak of the mob, to deny thyself and deprive us of the last mutual recognition, and to keep concealed below, as when Luther was hidden in Wartburg, and escaped from thence as a scarlet-coated dragoon. No sooner had the steamer left than a stout gentleman said to me, 'The Governor, Count Lewenhaupt, wishes to speak to Mr. Rosenius.' I went to him, and he said, 'I only wish to ask if Scott is really gone?' 'Yes, indeed he is,' I replied. 'Is it certain?' 'Yes, it is certain.' 'That is all I wished to be assured of.' Many of the police force were mixed up with the enormous crowd, and, no doubt, the Governor apprehended a riot, and sought certain information that Pastor Scott had left that he might escape this anxiety. On Monday we read in the *Bee* of the departure of the steamer *Swithiod*; but the only passengers named—of course the most important—were the 'Danish Secretary of Legation, and the Methodist preacher, Mr. G. Scott.' The *Allehanda* said, that

Pastor Scott with his bag and baggage had now left Sweden.* The *Aftonblad* says to-day, 'It has been reported as certain that it is proposed by those in high places to purchase for the service of the State the famous Methodist chapel in Stockholm; but if it be really necessary, in order to be entirely quit of Pastor Scott and his English congregation of four or five persons, to take such a step, surely it is not impossible to find a private speculator who would purchase the building for some purpose. The simplest method would be to sell it by auction.' They speak foolishly. God alone is our comfort, our wisdom, our helper in trouble. I must close. Christ, the great Shepherd, who has all power in heaven and on earth, will govern all in harmony with His own purposes."

Rosenius, in editing the *Pietist*, for which he wrote lengthy expositions of Holy Scripture; in conducting the "Missionary Journal;" in carrying on extensive religious correspondence; and in holding frequent meetings for prayer and Christian instruction, now had his time fully occupied; and in all his labours he remained faithful to the Lutheran Church. He writes to his brother:—

"That I serve Methodism is not true, if by Methodism the Wesleyan form is understood. But if by Methodism you mean that which P. intended, when he entered in the protocol of the Consistory the words, 'Scott spread Methodism—that is, Läsariet, Pietism, religious Methodism in *genere*, not only in the capital but throughout the provinces,' then I admit that I seek to promote Methodism. That this is P.'s meaning is evident, from the fact that Methodism, as a denomination, has not obtained a single member in Sweden. Dr. Anjou declares, that Läsariet is the Methodism of the Swedish Church; and the distinguished Archbishop Wallin, in his lifetime, called the Methodists, 'Läsare for the world.' The thing is the same, though known in various lands by different names, and forms the world's great rock of offence, even the word and will of God applied to all the relations of every-day life. No church forms or confessions can limit it, but it is found in all churches where the Bible is the foundation of doctrine and rule of life."

Many attempts were made at this stage of Rosenius's career to arrest his growing influence in Stockholm; for his crowded meetings, held in all parts of the city every evening, and the numbers who visited him during the day for spiritual counsel and comfort, greatly displeased the clergy. Mr. Owen was appealed to by the authorities to give information respecting the conventicles; but he refused, advising that these peaceable, useful people should remain undisturbed, at least till the police had laid hold of all the rogues in the

* This was incorrect, as Scott, hoping to be restored to the peaceful occupancy of the chapel, left his wife, children, and personal property behind.

place. Two clergymen visited the archbishop at Upsala, seeking his consent to the opening of a large church for Rosenius, whilst others thought of promoting him to the chaplaincy of one of the prisons. The meetings were not unfrequently disturbed by roughs, and, on one occasion, the teacher and his audience escaped maltreatment by being allowed to pass through another house into an adjoining street. Early in 1848, a dying wave of the French Revolution struck the Swedish shore, and serious disturbances in Stockholm rendered it necessary to call in the troops from the country. The English chapel was laid hold of to receive part of a regiment. This was the first opening of the place after the riot of 1842. It was a strange sight, that chapel filled with soldiers to keep in order the very people who drove the preacher away. The words of Luther were remembered: "Those who refuse to listen to the mild warning voice of ministers and parents, must listen to the headsman, who preaches a sharper sermon, yea, preaches their heads off." As Rosenius passed the chapel one day, and saw many soldiers going out and in, an old woman, who evidently knew him, tauntingly said: "So many people going to the English chapel! Who is preaching? Surely Scott has come back again." He replied: "Woman, if Scott had continued preaching, and the people had received his word, these men would not have been needed here."

In August, 1849, Rosenius writes to Pastor Scott:—

"I have never seen such a time as this. Such unintermitting attacks on Christ's little flock; such general conflicts and inquiries; in a word, such a movement has never heretofore been witnessed! The Lord has revived His work more and more, or has here and there begun to light the holy fire. This has increasingly called forth the world's amazement and opposition. We read in the provincial newspapers of the wide-spreading epidemic *Läsa*riet. Lately two distinguished persons met in Stockholm, who, in different ways, caused alarm in the camp. These were Dean Wieselgren and Jenny Lind—Wieselgren, with his exhortations to form an inner mission; Jenny Lind, with her condemnation of the world's choicest amusements. Wieselgren failed in his object. He addressed himself to worldly authorities, and the monarch refused to sanction the proposed society. He entered on the hopeless task of engaging the world to go armed against the prince of the world. Meanwhile the idea got hold of many minds, that it was necessary to employ missionaries in a purely Lutheran country. At the same time Jenny Lind visited her native city, and caused much grief. One may imagine what followed, when this great Diana of the Ephesians not only decidedly refused to appear on the stage, but openly declared her alarm at the ungodliness of the people; and, what was more,

associated with the despised Methodists, attending the public services of Wieselgren and Fjeldstedt; and not these merely, but likewise the conventicles of Rosenius, often seeking private interviews with the last named. Now the fire was kindled in every house; the newspapers were in constant ferment; and everything possible was done to arouse opposition to these dreadful Methodists, who had proposed an inner mission and ensnared the Swedish Nightingale.

"My name appeared constantly in all the papers coupled with the grossest aspersions—for example, that our meetings were scenes of licentiousness, where the 'paradise dance' was practised. At length the same means were resorted to which had been employed to make you odious. A play was got up called the 'Läsare Priest,' which for weeks was performed, not only every night, including Sabbath, but—a thing previously unknown—was given in the afternoon. My feeble flesh, no doubt, trembled, as I expected to be assailed by the excited people; but we prayed to our Immanuel, trusting in His power and faithfulness, and hitherto the Lord hath helped us; He covers us with His feathers. Our meetings go on as usual."

Many of the "Readers" in the extreme north had at this time become ultra-Lutherans, and in their zeal for the original liturgy and psalm book, sought separation from the Church, that they might escape the use of the new service books. Their memorials to the King in Council to this effect could not receive approval, and no little persecution was endured by the Separatists.

It is not saying too much to affirm, that the influence of Rosenius was great in moderating the intemperate zeal of the leaders in this movement, and in preventing waverers from joining it.

Had he sought his own ends, he had now the opportunity of becoming the recognised head of a powerful party. He would take no such position. On the contrary, by means of the *Pietist*, by his letters, and by his visits, he firmly withstood the Separatist movement. Indeed, his consistent and decided position with reference to separation of every kind averted many of the evils of schism from the Swedish Church. In the year 1850 the Baptists began to spread their peculiar views in Sweden. This was a new kind of difficulty for Rosenius. Some persons have disapproved of his conduct towards the Baptists, expressing surprise that he who unhesitatingly co-operated with Scott should now decline all association with them. It must not be forgotten, however, that Scott never sought proselytes, never pressed his peculiar views so as to cause divisions, never endeavoured to make Lutherans Methodists. The relation of Rosenius to such a

man must necessarily differ from that maintained towards the Baptists, who, from the beginning, strove to win adherents to their special views and to form a separated church.

After the English chapel in Stockholm was closed, the property continued to be held by the Methodist Conference in England; and although several offers were made to purchase it for secular uses, the missionary committee preferred waiting to see whether the way would not open for using it for the purpose for which it was reared. Thus it remained closed for ten years. As Rosenius's meeting-rooms were now become inconveniently thronged, Scott urged him to avail himself of this larger place. Rosenius, however, feared making the attempt. He said the impression was abroad that the English chapel was an unprotected place. In the autumn of 1851 a Swedish clergyman, of deep piety, obtained permission to use the chapel, and Rosenius wrote thus to Scott in the December of that year:—"Beloved brother in the Lord. I have joyful tidings to communicate. The English church, after being ten years closed, is now again opened for Gospel preaching. This is the Lord's doing. Praise His name."

In June, 1852, Rosenius visited Umea and the neighbourhood, and says in a letter to Scott—"This has been truly a preaching tour, a missionary journey. All sorts of places have been opened to me, churches, schools, courts of justice, and even a theatre; but our meetings have been most frequently held in private houses. May God be glorified in all this!"

In 1854 a successful effort was made to purchase the English chapel; the Swedes receiving the benefit of the subscriptions obtained by Pastor Scott in England and America, on condition that the building should be retained as a centre of religious influence in the land. The new proprietors gave the place the name Bethlehem.

Dean Wieselgren writes in 1854:—

"When I was in Stockholm recently, Dr. Thomander said to me that since his coming to Stockholm to attend the Diet he had received such information respecting the blessings accompanying Rosenius's labours, that he felt disposed to go to him and thank him, which he also did, making no secret of it amidst his brethren of the house of clergy.* I felt constrained to visit Rosenius openly on the same

* A bigoted member of the clerical house proposed an extension of the conventicle law to reach the meetings held by Rosenius. After a noble speech by Thomander, he closed with this sentence: "As much liberty as a Swede has to go to a public-house and get drunk, so much liberty may he have to go to another place to read God's Word. I go from this house to a conventicle held by Rosenius."

errand. I find that during the last four years right views of his blessed work have spread in the community, from the highest to the lowest."

In 1856 the "Evangelical Fatherland Society" came into existence, very much in consequence of the exertions of Rosenius. The aim of the society is given in its first rule:—"To promote a more practical and better regulated use of the many voluntary agencies which are now at work in our native land in furtherance of its evangelisation, and to provide for them a point of common union; as also to call forth additional hitherto unemployed powers, by furnishing an opportunity for every one to use personal effort by tracts, books, gifts, or in any other way to contribute to the designed object—the increase of Christ's kingdom amongst professors of Christianity." The new institution was placed under the charge of twelve directors, of whom four, viz., Lundborg, Elmblad, Mellander, and Rosenius, were chosen to act for the society; the colporteur or home missionary department being specially committed to Rosenius. This society has issued hundreds of thousands of valuable tracts, numerous religious books, and new editions of Luther's works to the extent of 45,000 copies. The report for last year states that ninety-six colporteurs, really home missionaries, are employed; that places for giving these good men preparatory training are prepared; and that foreign missions have been undertaken, and upwards of twenty missionaries sent out to India, New York, and Africa, the greater number being stationed amongst the Gallas on the border of Abyssinia.

In the missionary institution, supported by the society, there are at present nineteen students. If we add to this noble work, the Stockholm City Mission, the Deaconess Institution, the numerous Sunday-schools established since 1851, the many provincial societies formed for the promotion of spiritual religion, and the old Swedish Missionary Society instituted in 1835, with its great work in Lapland; we shall have some idea of the depth and extent of that awakening which has followed the establishment of the Methodist Mission to Sweden. Previous to the year 1830, there were no religious societies in Sweden, except the Tract and Bible Societies; whereas now few countries with the same population—under four millions—contain a larger number of voluntary associations for Christian and charitable purposes, whether at home or abroad.

Though the English chapel was partially re-opened in

1851, and was purchased in 1854, Rosenius did not occupy the pulpit there till the Good Friday of 1857. After Easter he preached there constantly on Sunday afternoons.*

In the beginning of 1859 Pastor Scott revisited Sweden, after an absence of seventeen years. Rosenius met him in Christiania in Norway, and accompanied him to several places there, especially Skien, where Pastor Lammers, a converted and highly-gifted Norwegian clergyman, had laboured with much success. This was the first and only visit Rosenius paid to Norway; but he was extensively known as the editor of the *Pietist*, and the numerous evidences which he witnessed there of the power of that periodical must have been very gratifying to him, as it was to his companion.

On reaching Stockholm, Scott had favourable opportunities of meeting many persons from different parts of the country, the anniversary meetings of the "Fatherland Society," and the "City Mission," being in course of holding at the time; and he saw, with unspeakable satisfaction, the progress which spiritual religion had made during the period of his long exile from the country. The excitement which prevailed in Bethlehem church, when Scott again entered the pulpit there, will not soon be forgotten. Subsequently, he visited other towns, among them Upsala, where he was met by the clergy with a hearty good-will which deeply impressed him.†

* Before Rosenius' return to the chapel, while he was preaching in little crowded meeting-places to congregations chiefly of the humbler classes, the Princess E. was anxious to profit by his expositions; only as a member of the royal family, she felt herself unable to attend the meetings. On learning that one of her court ladies, Countess H., desired to be a hearer, the Princess encouraged her to go and to bring back to the palace a faithful report. Afterwards the Countess was summoned into the presence of the King (Oscar I.), and charged with going to a conventicle, and that on foot nearly a mile. The charge could not be denied. Whereupon the King said, "You shall not go there any more; I will order a royal carriage to take you." One of the court carriages was thereafter seen at the door of the conventicle.

† A singular instance of this may be noticed. On hearing that the triennial meeting of the clergy of the Archiepiscopal Diocese was being held, Scott hastened to Upsala, and took his place amongst the crowd of spectators in the gallery. He saw in the chair, as Archbishop, Dr. Reuterdaahl, the man who, as Professor of Theology in Lund, published in the State paper with his name the only defence of the Methodist Missionary which appeared during the persecutions of 1842. The next morning Scott sent a few lines of thanksgiving to the Archbishop. Immediately a messenger came requesting Scott's presence at the hall of assembly, where the Archbishop gave him a hearty welcome. Whilst they were conversing, the cathedral bell rang for service; and the Archbishop, turning to the clergy, said, "Gentlemen, we must go to church, and we shall go in procession. I take the lead; the Dean and Chapter will follow; then our guests—Count Hamilton, Bishop Annerstedt, and Pastor Scott from England, whom I am happy to introduce to you; the other clergy will follow."

Gefle was also visited, where midsummer was spent, and Scott and Rosenius spoke both in the town and at Aby. The midsummer day at Aby was specially memorable. Early in the morning groups of people, from great distances, were seen gathering in the park, eagerly talking one to another on religious subjects; and here and there on retired spots some were discovered on their knees in prayer. On a little knoll a pulpit had been extemporised, covered with evergreens, and adorned with a double row of wild roses. Both the friends addressed large masses of people, who remained unmoved in spite of a smart shower of rain. The address of Rosenius from Isaiah xl. 1—8 produced a deep and permanent impression. Afterwards Rosenius was Scott's companion through Smaland to Stesnäs, where some days were spent in the mansion of the devoted Count Stackleberg. Here the friends, who twenty years before had been so wonderfully brought together by God's providence with such momentous results, parted—parted for ever for this life.

Towards the close of 1866 Rosenius writes to Scott:—

"As regards the *Pietist*, I have to notice to you, its originator, that it approaches a termination, or, rather, a turning-point in its history. In three months it will be a quarter of a century old; and during its existence it has circulated throughout our land, carrying a Gospel message to the palace and the cottage, and this latterly to the extent of 10,000 copies monthly. This is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in my eyes! I recal now, as if it were yesterday, our many consultations as to the name of the periodical; and behold now the twenty-fifth year printed on the title-page. O, how we ought to praise the Lord! The little grain of mustard-seed has become a great spreading tree, and many have found rest and shelter under its branches. God be gracious to us! Lord, it is Thy work alone; to Thy name be all the praise!" He added, "I begin to feel the monthly issue, with all my other engagements, rather too much for me, and I purpose hereafter issuing a quarterly number."

In the early part of 1865 Rosenius was threatened with paralysis. The attack was mild, yet sufficient to indicate the importance of his seeking rest. Accordingly he visited Smaland and Götheborg, and returned relieved and, as usual, ready for work. Towards the end of the year he had congestion of the brain, though very slight, and after a few weeks' repose he resumed his labours, preparing the *Pietist*, and preaching in Bethlehem Chapel every Sunday and Wednesday. On May 15, 1867, he ascended for the last time the pulpit which he first entered twenty-seven years before, and

preached with ripe experience on the twenty-third Psalm. A lengthened journey to the southern provinces was now undertaken, but he felt constrained to preach wherever he went, often in large churches. On Whit Sunday, 1867, he heard Dean Wieselgren in the cathedral of Götheborg, and went in the afternoon to St. John's Church: here, though very unwell, he offered prayer and began to preach on John xiv. 15—21. He had not proceeded far, however, before he became confused and shortly after silent. His brother and the Dean hastened to the pulpit:—a third stroke was upon him, and his left side was paralysed. On the following Friday he dictated the following message to his friends, to be communicated after his death as a last salutation:—

"I am persuaded, especially if the Lord is about to call me hence, that my friends will be glad to know how it is with my inner man. Should the Lord by a sudden death remove me, so that I shall not have the opportunity of giving a dying testimony, I will now, to save my children and my friends from being perplexed, say, that when separated from this mortal body I shall immediately enter eternal glory, for he who has been the friend of God in life is the friend of God in death."

He continued in a very feeble state till February 24, 1868, when he departed. On the 28th his body was committed to the grave; and probably there never was a funeral in Stockholm at which so many sincere mourners gathered. On the way to the church, and in the graveyard, an enormous mass of people assembled; and when the coffin was carried into the church, the spacious edifice was soon crowded in every part. Bishop Beckman read the burial service, and delivered an affecting address on the words, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them." The choir then sang the departed Pietist's favourite hymn, "So loved God the whole world."

The *Notes of a Tour in Sweden*, by the eminent Baptist ministers, Steane and Hinton, contain many notices of Swedish Pietism which are full of interest. The visit was made for the promotion of religious liberty, and to encourage the Swedish Baptists, who a few years previous to 1858 had formed separate churches in different parts of the country, and had come in consequence into painful collision with Swedish ecclesiastical law, especially because of their opposition to infant baptism. How far it was wise to attempt to introduce the Baptist Church organisation into a country

where separation from the National Church was strictly prohibited under penalties of confiscation and banishment, it is not for us to say. It is pleasing to observe with how fine a spirit the authors of the *Notes*, firmly adhering as they do to their Baptist opinions, write of the Lutheran Rosenius and the Methodist Scott. Of the former they say:—

“In none of the distinguished persons to whom we were thus kindly introduced did we feel a more lively interest than in Mr. C. O. Rosenius. By report, and by the correspondence of our friends in Sweden, we had long been acquainted with him and his devoted evangelistic labours, and we rejoiced in an opportunity of forming a personal acquaintance with him. He is the editor, and in considerable part the author, of a religious periodical called the *Pietist*—a name used by the enemies of earnest religion in Sweden as a reproach—but boldly adopted by the projectors of this periodical as an honour. Although not a clergyman, he has for some years past held public religious services, which are in Swedish law *conventicles*, and he now preaches regularly in what is called the Bethlehem Chapel, the chapel built and formerly occupied by Mr. Scott. He has been called to account by the authorities for this practice, and forbidden to proceed, but he has, without flinching, persevered; and he is so strongly supported by public opinion in Stockholm, that the magistrates have been glad to compromise the matter, on an understanding that he will not preach during the hours of Lutheran service. As he entered the room, the appearance of Mr. Rosenius, at once manly and amiable, with both feeling and eloquence glowing in his countenance, strongly prepossessed us in his favour, and we afterwards learned to love him warmly. In character and usefulness, no man stands higher in Stockholm.”—*Notes*, pp. 170, 171.

To the position and labours of the Methodist missionary the following generous testimony is given:—

“Before concluding this historical sketch, we must give some more particular account of the evangelical labours in Stockholm of the Rev. George Scott; a name which must ever be associated with the recent revival of religion in Sweden. This gentleman went to Stockholm as an agent of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in the year 1830. His *status* there was that of English pastor (foreign churches being permitted in the capital), and in this character he received much encouragement, both from successive British representatives, and from members of the Swedish establishment.

“The preaching of the Gospel in the Swedish language was commenced by him in 1831, and such anxiety to attend was manifested, that numbers at almost every service had to leave the crowded place, unable to effect an entrance. After more than five years’ endurance of this inconvenience, the erection of a larger chapel was decided on, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society gave a commendable evidence of genuine catholicity by voting £500 towards that erection. Christians

of all ranks, and belonging to all evangelical communities of England, swelled the amount; and Mr. Scott reaped in the United States and in Canada the fruits of a similar spirit. The application to the Swedish Government, in 1838, for an order in Council securing the property, gave rise to a severe contest of ten months' continuance, commenced by the Consistory of Stockholm urging the King to prohibit the use of any other language than the English in the place to be reared; but, though sore pressed, the noble and liberal-minded Bernadotte did not give way.

"Beyond Stockholm, Mr. Scott was enabled to do much by an extensive correspondence. The pious clergy and laity, few and widely scattered, regarded his neutral position with confidence, and freely sought his aid for the advancement of true godliness.

"The organisation of the friends of missions into the Swedish Missionary Society; extensive, wise, and successful temperance operations; the introduction of infant schools; the establishment of a Seamen's Mission at Stockholm and Gottenburg; the commencement of a Mission in Lapland, under the patronage of the Swedish Missionary Society, by a young man brought to God in the English chapel, Stockholm, which has greatly extended and accomplished much good; the issue of the *Pietist* in 1842, a monthly vehicle of intercourse suited to the spiritually-minded: have been either chiefly originated or greatly aided by the Wesleyan Mission, which was regarded by friends and foes as a kind of head-quarters for the advancement of Pietism. A valuable young man,* a fruit of this mission, is now preaching the Gospel as a missionary in China.

"It was no wonder therefore that there should be many adversaries. During the winter of 1841-2, the determination was avowed that Mr. Scott must be sent away. As no precept of the law had been violated, the constituted authorities could not proceed against him, and they were not disposed to interfere with him; either, therefore, he must be scared away, or clamour must constrain Pilate to content the people. To effect the former, many schemes had to be adopted, such as disturbing the worship, sending threatening letters, declarations through the police commissary that the person of the missionary was not safe, a caricature exhibited in the shop windows, incessant calumnies in the daily papers, insult and spitting when the missionary walked the streets, a play got up called *St. Jesuit*, in which the principal character is found guilty of the most fearful enormities; the performer of that character having several times attended the English chapel, that he might successfully mimic the missionary; and the effect of all these on the populace was dreadful. At length the Government were openly threatened with a revolution unless the obnoxious mission was put an end to, and, as a last resource, a riot was got up by persons hired for the purpose. It was then thought the readiest way out of an embarrassing position, to allow the public worship in the chapel to be interrupted, which was done in March 1842; and then the Govern-

* The Rev. Theodore Hamberg, since deceased.

ment said in effect, 'We cannot charge you with any violation of the laws, but, your services having *occasioned* a breach of the peace, we are necessitated to prohibit their continuance.'

"Mr. Scott providentially remained long enough in Sweden to do his work. Before the storm burst he had preached faithfully and diligently. With singular ability he acquired the Swedish language, and, as we heard from many persons, spoke it with the fluency and purity of a native; and, when once he was in the possession of this power, he devoted himself with unremitting toil to the propagation of the Gospel, both from the pulpit and the press. He did not seek to introduce among the Swedes the ecclesiastical regimen of his own Church; he laboured to convert them, not to Methodism, but to Christ. Some there were, we have heard, among his brethren in England, who would have urged him to a different course, but, to the lasting honour of the Wesleyan body, they sustained him in his more catholic views. If a truly Christian Mission, divested of all that distinguishes a particular denomination, and characterised by all that is essential to Christianity, was ever undertaken, that praise belongs to the mission of our dear friend, Mr. Scott. And it was richly blessed; and, though it has long ceased, it is rich in blessing still. The Missionary Committee of the Wesleyan body may reflect with thankfulness to God on the gracious issues of that work; and they may accept this spontaneous testimony to its unspeakable value from some who belong to a different section of the Church of Christ, as a tribute—not more cordially paid than it is justly merited—to the purity of the aim, and the unsectarian and generous Christian spirit with which it was conducted. Now that the angry passions have subsided which led to Mr. Scott's forced retirement from Stockholm, all men there hold him in honour; crowds still attend in the chapel which he built, to listen to the Gospel from that eloquent and earnest lay-preacher, Mr. Rosenius; and the universal sentiment among all classes of religious people will continue, in all future time, to acknowledge the Wesleyan Missionary as among the greatest spiritual benefactors bestowed by God in modern times on Sweden.

"In the course of our visit we met with many touching references to this man of God. Besides the general fragrance of his memory in Stockholm, we found not a few persons who had attended on his ministry, and still regarded him with the warmest Christian love. It was an immediate passport to their kind regard that we were friends of Mr. Scott, and, especially, that we had lately seen him."—*Notes*, pp. 89—93.

We cannot extend this article by dwelling on Pastor Scott's valuable work, entitled *Tellström and Lapland*. Suffice it to say, that in Tellström we have a rare example of Christian devotedness, and that we trust the little volume which records his labours may only be the herald of a larger one, in which the history of the Swedish Mission will be given in greater fulness and detail.

- ART. III.—1. *Pauline; A Fragment of a Confession*. London: Saunders and Otley, Conduit-street. 1833.
2. *Paracelsus*. By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Published by Effingham Wilson, Royal Exchange. MDCCCXXV.
3. *Strafford*. An Historical Tragedy. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Printed for Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, Paternoster-row. 1837.
4. *Sordello*. By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXL.
5. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. I.—Pippa Passes. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLI.
6. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. II.—King Victor and King Charles. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLII.
7. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. III.—Dramatic Lyrics. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLII.
8. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. IV.—The Return of the Druses. A Tragedy in Five Acts. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLIII.
9. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. V.—A Blot in the 'Scutcheon. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLIII.
10. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. VI.—Colombe's Birthday. A Play in Five Acts. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLIV.
11. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. VII.—Dramatic Romances and Lyrics. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLV.
12. *Bells and Pomegranates*. No. VIII. and Last. Luria; and A Soul's Tragedy. By ROBERT BROWNING, Author of "Paracelsus." London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. MDCCCXLVI.

13. *Poems.* By ROBERT BROWNING. In Two Volumes. A New Edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 186, Strand. 1849.
14. *Christmas Eve and Easter Day.* A Poem. By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Chapman and Hall, 186, Strand. 1850.
15. *Men and Women.* By ROBERT BROWNING. In Two Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1855.
16. *Selections from the Poetical Works of Robert Browning.* London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1863.
17. *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning.* Third Edition. In Three Volumes. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1864.
18. *Dramatis Personæ.* By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1864.
19. *Dramatis Personæ.* By ROBERT BROWNING. Second Edition. London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly. 1864.
20. *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning.* Fourth Edition. (Three Volumes, with a Photographic Portrait of the Poet by the London Stereoscopic Company.) London: Chapman and Hall, 193, Piccadilly.
21. *Moxon's Miniature Poets.* A Selection from the Works of ROBERT BROWNING. (With a Portrait of the Poet, Engraved by J. H. Baker from a Photograph by W. Jeffrey.) London: Edward Moxon and Co., Dover-street. 1865.
22. *The Poetical Works of Robert Browning, M.A.,* Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. Six Volumes. Smith, Elder and Co., London. 1868.
23. *The Ring and the Book.* By ROBERT BROWNING, M.A., Honorary Fellow of Balliol College, Oxford. In Four Volumes. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1868—9.
24. *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* With an Introductory Essay by ROBERT BROWNING. London: Edward Moxon, Dover-street. 1852.*

* The list printed above is, we believe, a complete bibliographical catalogue of Browning's works; and we have given it, not on the supposition that it will be universally interesting, but with the hope that it may be useful to such readers as are or may become students of the poet. To anyone who wishes to inquire into the charges which have once and again been brought against Browning, that he is careless concerning beauty of form, slovenly in execution, and what not, such a list as this, or rather the books themselves, would be invaluable: it would only be necessary to take up an early work of the author and trace it through the editions from first to last, to find that he frequently revises

WHAT is a school of poetry? Although the expression is in the mouth of almost every cultured person, it is doubtful whether one in ten of those using the expression has ever put to himself this question, or on having it put by another would be able to answer it at all satisfactorily. In regard to painting, the term school has more than one signification: sometimes it refers simply to some great artist and to the immediate group of his pupils or imitators, and at other times it is used as having reference to a much wider circle of workers as regards both time and place. When we talk of the School of Giotto, we refer usually to Giotto's supreme self and the painters immediately under his influence; and similarly, when we name the Eclectic School of Bologna, we intend to take in merely the Caracci and their immediate followers. On the other hand, when we talk of "The Dutch School," we make use of a very loose and vague term, and mass together subjectively a number of works of as infinite

—touching out slight blemishes, and amending here and there obscure places. Nor does this remark apply to early works only: it is evidently the habit of the poet to touch and retouch his poems. Many of the *Men and Women* have been very considerably altered since their publication in 1855; and in the *Dramatis Personæ*, published in 1864, several important changes were made when a second edition was printed the same year: last year again some of the poems were altered and beautified, and this not only in minor details—a section of *James Lee's Wife*, for instance, being greatly amplified and improved. We are of opinion that, when what the French call an *édition définitive* of Browning's works is published (and may that event be long postponed), any one who has the materials and the discrimination necessary for an editor will be able to make the work fully as interesting as the celebrated seventeen-volume edition of Byron; and a collated edition of Browning would have this special value—that the various readings are helpful in deciding the exact sense of lines and verses which generally have some profound thought at bottom. We believe that Browning's works will be amply recognised by posterity; and it is easier now to ascertain and chronicle particulars of his publications than it will be fifty years hence. Many of the volumes of poetry catalogued above are even now excessively difficult to obtain; and none published earlier than the last decade are at all common. The scarcest is *Pauline*, of which even the British Museum did not boast a copy till recently; and next in scarcity are the *Bells and Pomegranates*, a series of pamphlets in royal 8vo., printed in small type and in double columns. The last volume on the list is the collection of spurious letters, forged and palmed off upon Messrs. Moxon as Shelley's, by one whose name and descent are best unmentioned. Browning's connexion with the volume, which was withdrawn from circulation very speedily, on the discovery of the fraud, was but slight: he merely wrote for it an introductory essay, the merits of which are quite independent of the collection of letters in question; and the loss of this essay, more than any other circumstance, makes it matter of regret that the volume had to be withdrawn. Considering the influence Shelley had on him in the early days of his career, any word from Browning in his own person on this great predecessor would be interesting; but we have not been fortunate in obtaining such words: even a selection from Shelley's poetry, announced by Messrs. Moxon some years ago as forthcoming with a preface by Browning, has never made its appearance.

variety in their "poor degree," as we should do in talking broadly of "The Italian School." But in poetry the term is not quite so vague in its actual possibilities of application, though, as remarked above, but little understood; and it is, perhaps, better that a term should not be understood at all than that it should be misunderstood or wrongly used.

Everyone knows what is meant by the Elizabethan School of Dramatists, because the term has an historical association universally familiar; and the term "Satirists of the Restoration" is only more vague in proportion to the more ephemeral interest of the subjects treated by that school, the lower rank taken by formal satire in relation to that taken by the drama, and the smaller calibre of the men making up the school. But when we talk of the Psychological and Idyllic Schools of modern English Poetry, it is but vaguely felt in the larger number of minds that one term at all events includes Tennyson, while the other indicates some other person or persons unknown. And yet the prospects of English poetic literature (as separated from prose literature) are probably shut up within those two vaguely-understood terms.

If we look critically at the literary history of the past few years in this country, there can be no doubt that we have entered upon an epoch of great splendour. It is not merely that we have a goodly show of noble and original works accomplished, but also that the labours and perceptions of one or two workers have marked out broadly a course for minor workers to follow up—filling in their smaller details to the grand edifice, as the school of Flemish painters contemporary with Rubens filled in around the outlines of his upbuilding the superb, but *less* superb, contributions which it was given them to bring to the noble edifice of Flemish painting of the seventeenth century.

When we talk of the Idyllic School, we use the term school in a sense very nearly identical with that in which we use it in talking of schools bygone, because there are actually in existence many writers who have imitated the style of certain of Tennyson's works with sufficient accuracy to make it obvious in what groove their metric faculty has been induced to flow. We take up publication after publication and find dotted about poems obviously of the school of *Dora*, *The Gardener's Daughter*, *The Brook*, *Sea Dreams*, &c.; and those who are in the habit of following contemporary poetic literature at all closely must have inspected, on the whole, large piles of volumes bearing more or less unmistakably the impress of the *Idylls of the King*, *Enoch*

Arden, &c. We would not for a moment depreciate Tennyson's idyllic pieces, because the workmanship is so superb that, although owing to their method it is easy to make bad imitations of them, they must always stand out boldly from among the multitude of seventh or eighth rate pieces to which they have given birth.

In naming the Psychological School of poetry, the issues opened up are much more complex, and therefore more vague. The term, as relating to followers of a leadership, is perhaps rather prophetic than now applicable. The great leader of the school, Browning, has followed a course so intensely original, that near imitations of him would be excessively difficult to effect: a course so unpopular hitherto that such imitations, even if practicable, have been uninduced by the market considerations which, of themselves, must have sufficed to furnish innumerable aspirants to Tennysonian imitation. At the same time there is scarcely a poet of mark now among us in whose works the influence of Browning may not be clearly discerned. We have, besides this dispersed influence, some few not inconsiderable pieces which, while distinctly good and original, are just as distinctly to be affiliated on the innovations of Browning's genius—as, for example, *A Primitive Christian at Rome*, by the sculptor Story, published in the *Fortnightly Review*, for December, 1866, and *A Roman Lawyer at Jerusalem—First Century*, published in *Blackwood's Magazine*, for October, 1868,* pieces which we cannot do more than refer to thus favourably, as it would be out of place to analyse them, and show in detail their connexion with Browning, in an article on the present subject.

We say that the present prospects of English poetic literature are shut up in the two terms, Idyllic School and Psychological School, not with the view of denying a high place to any productions which do not come within the strict meaning of those two terms, but simply as an expression of the fact that those schools include what is essentially characteristic of the present era of poetry—what is as new from a technical point of view as is the present form of novel, when, in consummate hands, its idealisations are compassed by means of a balance of dramatisation, description, and analysis unattempted by workers in anterior schools of fiction. The

* The first mentioned of these two pieces has recently been reprinted in a collection (*Graffiti d' Italia*, by W. W. Story: Blackwood); and we would call attention to this volume, not only as a very good collection of poems, but as a solid result of working in Browning's method without imitation of style.

innovations of the two schools in question, equally with those of the new school of fiction, are not merely superficial, but involve quite new principles in the technical procedures of literature, thus opening up new possibilities to future workers; but this is no detriment whatever to the many excellent or blameless modes of procedure of earlier date, nor to any honest labourers who may find themselves, by natural idiosyncrasies of mind, *au fait* at some older method, while perhaps quite at sea in any attempt at working in the new methods.

Besides the amount of poetry of varied quality classifiable under these two heads, we have a great deal of what may be called *Renaissance* poetry, also of various qualities; there is the Pre-Raphaelite order of poetry, which may be seen in its integrity in some of the pieces by the Rossettis, Mr. Bell Scott, and others, seen distorted in *The Angel in the House*, and traced in Mr. Morris, notwithstanding the fact that his own full-blown originality has furnished a large series of poems classifiable as of the School of Chaucer; but neither Chaucerian nor Pre-Raphaelite poetry is likely to be further developed by another generation of workers, not being thoroughly in keeping with the contemporary aspect of things—however splendid and permanent are some of the results. The Idyllic and Psychological Schools, on the other hand, are so intimately connected with modern ideas that they are doubtless destined to a continuation in the hands of followers. From this point of view the Idyllic School is valuable by virtue of the method developed in the treatment of contemporary subjects otherwise than dramatically—the faculty of making exquisite narrative pictures of our middle-class life in its more simple phases; and the Psychological School has a wide applicability to the idealisation of the intellectual and emotional phases of being which, in modern city life, are so intensified as to preponderate immensely in importance over the life of physical activity. To treat these classes of subjects with adequate freshness, it was necessary that new forms and methods should be invented; and, accordingly, men equal to the occasion have arisen, and have brought the gift of inventiveness to bear more or less strongly on the whole mass of their works.

Such, as it seems to us, are the characteristics of English poetry which at present call for most remark; and we have run through these considerations on the contemporary schools as an introductory step to the discussion of one school, in the person of its founder and representative, whom we conceive

to be a genius of a very high order—a claimant to a permanent and elevated place in our literature—and who has just put before the world a work of importance almost unprecedented in modern times.

Dramatic poetry has, and probably with good reason, been pretty generally held to be the highest form of the art; but whether the conventional modes of drama be a necessary condition to the award of the high titular meed of “dramatic poet,” we take leave to question. Browning we consider to be essentially, and almost exclusively, a dramatic poet, as regards manner of work—and this, not so much on the strength of his nine plays, as by virtue of his works in monologue, which display a greater aggregate of originality of thought and treatment. To maintain a complete and absolute impersonality in matter, and yet to develop and preserve a strong and unmistakable individuality in manner; to depict a wide variety of character without palpable bias, and yet to leave the moral bearings of the product not only uninvolved, but strongly self-evident; these are the two correlative aims with which every great dramatic poet, who cherishes the idea of benefiting his race, must labour, whether he has formulated those aims thus in his mind, or merely holds them there dispersed as intellectual light and emotional warmth—whether he has inscribed canons for his guidance on the walls of his study, or merely works on, as is probably most often the case, with head and heart right by virtue of innate superiority, and able to dispense with canons and formulas. With Browning these correlative aims seem never for a moment to have failed of their strong due influence; and, in the long series of his labours, we discern a complete attainment of the twofold object, although, quitting the conventional forms of drama, he has chosen to follow a course which may have been in the mind of the great poetess, when, in the fifth book of *Aurora Leigh*, she penned the splendid fervent lines on dramatic art—looking forward to the time when dramatists should “take for a nobler stage the soul itself.”

This “nobler stage the soul itself” is precisely the only stage made use of by Browning in the psychological monologue, whether Mrs. Browning had that idea in her mind or not; and it is the development and perfection of this monologue that yields the most important line of observation for the critic to take up in discussing Browning’s labours. *Pauline* is the natural ancestor of *The Ring and the Book*: these two, his earliest and latest known poems, are the terminal vertebrae of the spinal column of his works regarded as a body;

and around that column are matters, by no means unimportant, but, still, *less* important—the dramas already referred to, some few pieces not strictly psychological monologues, one dramatic poem, one analytic narrative poem, and one prose piece.

In a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*, the modern monologue form was described in the following words, which we take leave to make use of as expressing what we wish to convey:—

“In each monologue some particular point of interest in the history of a human soul is taken up. The soul, whether historical or fictitious, generally speaks for itself all that is spoken—the artist invariably refraining from any appearance as a spokesman. In the course of the monologue all circumstances in the past development of the soul, which are available for illuminating the present point, are brought out, and the present and past action of other human beings on the speaker is indicated either by detail on the speaker’s part, or by some such artifice as a sudden change in the tone of the monologue, from which we learn that the person addressed has said or done something; and sometimes the whole expression of the actual speaker is devoted to the analysis of another soul—the idealised reproduction of another character, or set of mental phenomena. This method, of course, affords a great compactness and symmetry to the series of circumstances relating to the particular mind under treatment; and the attention of the reader is to a large extent concentrated on that one soul, though it is quite possible to treat a plurality of souls ably in one monologue.”*—*Fortnightly Review* for January, 1869, p. 118.

* In the opening paragraph of the article from which these words are taken, the medium in which this school of poetry has been growing up is thus glanced at:—

“During the last thirty years men of science have been notably active in accumulating results, such as have gone far to constitute a definite and invaluable science of psychology: year after year has seen some pinnacle or bastion added to the great edifice, and year after year the admitted importance of this branch of physiology has increased. Nowhere has the movement been more vigorously forwarded than in England, and in no other country is there so able an array of really scientific psychologists. This being the case, it would be strange if there were no corresponding movement in the world of art—science and art being as they are so much more intimately connected than a mere superficial view of them would lead one to suppose. For the artistic equivalent of this scientific movement we should naturally look first to the head of the arts; nor will he who looks there be disappointed. Whoever has followed out the history of poetry during the last thirty years, must have observed a great change in the subjects selected for treatment, as well as in the manner of treating them. The entity ‘nature,’ which before the present era of poetry absorbed so large a proportion of our æsthetic energies, has in its turn been absorbed by the real being, man; and the great bulk of poetic force is now brought to bear on the treatment of man, and of man alone—for whatever our poets now find to say about inanimate nature is not of an apostrophic kind, but of an order having reference to nature merely in its bearings on man. Under

Now in *Pauline*, which the author calls "a fragment of a confession," this principle is strictly adhered to; but the growth of the speaker's soul, and the various phases of sentiment and thought through which he has passed, are given at far too great a length to be thoroughly impressive: the texture is not close enough, and the poem is otherwise wanting in subsequently developed characteristics of Browning. Nevertheless, it is a beautiful piece, and, for a first attempt, astonishingly powerful. Through all the long tale which the speaker tells to Pauline, we get no irrelevancies, no ruptures of unity, nothing to give the idea of a "made-up" poem; but there is an evident influence of Shelley* apparent in the style, here and there, and the speaker often addresses some worshipped poet whom he calls "Sun-treader," and whom we conceive to bear, in certain sketchy passages relating to him, a strong resemblance to Shelley;—so that, while we cannot but see a complete dramatic unity in the piece, an idea (perhaps a wild one) occasionally suggests itself, that the poet, elsewhere worshipful to Shelley, is dramatising himself—making his own confession and diverging into addresses to his own idol. If this were so, the fact would not condemn the piece as a psychological monologue: Browning's soul is quite as well worth analysing and dramatising as any soul he has taken up and sunk himself in; but what gives *Pauline* an air of improbability, as a dramatic piece, is the great minuteness of treatment—the particularity of psychical detail as compared with the breadth and generality of more mature works. The piece was, doubtless, soon felt to be a failure by the rapidly growing intellect that had put it forth,† and the next production was, though still more ambitious in exhaustiveness, executed on a much easier plan: *Paracelsus* was, equally with *Pauline*, devoted to the treatment of one soul; but the end was compassed by means of open converse with other souls; and, though *Paracelsus* is the one theme, the other three characters of this dramatic poem are interesting. After *Paracelsus* came a

these auspices, the Psychological School of Poetry has been forming; and it is still forming, for a school of poetry does not spring up and become full-blown without ample time."—*Fortnightly Review* for January, 1869, p. 117.

The correlation in question, between science and art, is well worth inquiry; but we have not space here to go into the matter.

* The Shelley flavour goes through *Paracelsus*, and even comes out in *Sordello*, although in that poem we trace the full development of Browning's own individual manner.

† In acknowledging it for the first time in the edition of last year, the poet speaks of it, as it seems to us, somewhat untenderly when he calls it "the thing." It is a poem, and one only says "the thing" of something that is nothing.

manifestation of analytical power in the five-act-drama form—*Strafford*; and then, in *Sordello*, a different method again was put to proof—the analytic narrative: in point of method, no importance can be attached to it; but the book is full enough of exquisite beauties and nice discriminations of the elements of character to support a considerable essay; and there is in it a luxurious wealth of sonorous expression, suggestive of joy in a newly-discovered faculty. In *Pippa Passes*, the very curious, but very beautiful drama which came out next (No. 1 of *Bells and Pomegranates*), there was a looming of monologue on a better plan than that of *Pauline*, but it was in the third fasciculus of the same series that the conception of this form was first carried out in its integrity—in the piece then called *Italy*, but long ago re-christened *My Last Duchess*. In this piece, not only do we get a marvellously graphic portrait of an Italian ducal mind drawn by the duke's self, but the whole action and scenery are reflected from his speech as clearly as if the monologue were furnished with an introduction and appendix, and interlarded with notes. As we read the opening words—

"That's my last Duchess painted on the wall,
Looking as if she were alive; I call
That piece a wonder now"—

we see the nobleman, with indicative waive of hand, conduct his guest on to the stage; and not less significant are the terminal lines—

"Will't please you rise? We'll meet
The company below then. I repeat,
The Count your master's known munificence
Is ample warrant that no just pretence
Of mine for dowry will be disallowed;
Though his fair daughter's self, as I avowed
At starting, is my object. Nay, we'll go
Together down, sir; Notice Neptune, tho',
Taming a sea horse, thought a rarity,
Which Claus of Innsbruck cast in bronze for me."

We see here at once the whole situation—how the Duke, showing the portrait of his late wife, is entertaining the emissary of his next wife's father: we see the pair rise, and in the "Nay, we'll go together down, sir," we see the courtly contention at the stair-head; and then we have the lingering descent of the stairs—the look-out of the window at the bronze in the palace court.

The fasciculus of *Bells and Pomegranates* which contained this piece contained many others of the same degree of in-

tegrity of method, though in some there is a greater preponderance of narrative element than we associate with the pure conception of the psychological monologue. Still, let us not be understood as implying that the pieces containing this different distribution of elements depart in any sense from the method in question: some go back upon old reminiscence, and are thus more narrative in matter, while others are full of the actual situation, and are thus more dramatic in the ordinary acceptation of the word; but, forasmuch as in all to which we refer the artist has obviously performed the difficult task of self-elimination, all are dramatic; and inasmuch as the whole* are character-studies, whether of phases intellectual or phases emotional, all are strictly psychological. Almost every piece is a speech spoken from a single mouth.

Three years later, the seventh fasciculus of *Bells and Pomegranates* furnished a still richer sample of the capacities of the monologue form—even the commencement of the supreme poem *Saul* appearing among the rest. Since that time (1845), Browning has published no considerable works that are not in the monologue form, except *A Soul's Tragedy* and *Luria*, which formed the eighth and concluding instalment of *Bells and Pomegranates*, and *In a Balcony*, which was almost the only exception to the method in the collection of fifty poems called originally *Men and Women*, but now re-distributed under separate headings. *Luria* and *In a Balcony* are in our opinion the most perfect of Browning's plays, though neither is well adapted for modern stage purposes;† and, after making the dramatic scene-form yield

* The most striking exception is the *Pied Piper of Hamelin*; perhaps the best known but least worth knowing of all Browning's poems.

† It is difficult to avoid regarding the stage drama as virtually defunct, except for sensational purposes and as used by music; and, in this view, there is nothing remarkable in the fact that the nobly imagined drama *Strafford* was a failure, when produced on the stage under Macready's auspices in 1837. Browning's dramas, though intensely dramatic in character, are so subtle in some of the actions and indications of action, as to require at times a not inconsiderable mental effort to catch the result intended to be conveyed. Those who go to the theatre go to be amused and excited without trouble—the treat is to be one of the senses; and Browning's plays, though they abound in attractions of feeling and excited action, have those qualities in a highly refined form, and often so veiled by subtlety of thought, that they would not be likely to get appreciated unless the theatre audience were prepared to put up with a treat of much intellectuality and no sensationalism—almost an impossibility in the present degraded state of stages and theatre-audiences. The personality of Byron's dramas was, and would now be, enough to insure their failure, notwithstanding the strength, majesty, and beauty, which parts of them show when analysed as poems; but in Browning's there is no such personality to obstruct our view of the beauties—only a subtlety of thought which, however much it may contribute towards the impossibility of putting them on a modern stage, can only be regarded by the cultivated reader as an exceedingly precious quality.

what it would in his hands to the enrichment of psychological art, the poet seems to have followed out, with a striking unity of purpose, the elaboration of his own peculiar monologue. Even] *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*, published five years earlier than the last play, is no exception to these remarks; for we cannot but regard it as impersonal in the same sense that many of the other religious monologues of Browning are impersonal. There may be a bias in it, but if so, it is not palpable; and we could no more confidently attribute to Browning the position assumed by either of the two speakers in *Christmas Eve and Easter Day*,* than we could label him Roman Catholic on the strength of *Bishop Blougram's Apology*; Arabian sceptic on the evidence of the *Letter from Karshish*; or Pagan on the testimony of *Cleon*. In *Dramatis Personæ*, published nine years later than *Men and Women*, the dramatic form had entirely disappeared; and, in form, the book was simply a collection of monologues full of fresh variety, while in matter it was, as all its predecessors had been, a new rich contribution of deep original thoughts and beautiful feelings infused into the pictured mental lives of so many more men and women, "live or dead, or fashioned by the fancy" of the poet. And at length this series of labours in one direction has been crowned with the achievement which the commencement of this year saw completed—*The Ring and the Book*, a work of more than twenty-one thousand lines, in twelve psychological monologues, constitutes not only a poem of the highest power and noblest aspiration, but also a great lesson on the adaptability of the strict monologue form for epic uses.

Up to this stage in Browning's career, those who were inclined to slight his poetry had this point at which to make an advantageous attack—that, of his most perfectly finished and perfectly original works (works, that is, in which he had perfected a form peculiarly his own), none could be called important poems if measured by size. It has long been the fashion among the shallower "critics" of the day to lose no available opportunity for a gird at the darknesses of *Sordello*, and the drynesses of *Paracelsus*, works which none the less will remain high in sight long after the world has let slip the remembrance that the nineteenth century boasted a school of "critics" so blind as to think slightly of a profound contemporary poetic intellect. But now that it has become

* It consists of two monologues, with a large narrative element.

heterodox to sneer openly at even these works, the shortness of the poems by which Browning is best known serves as a stand-point for detractors; and it is to be hoped that *The Ring and the Book*, both as a work of size and as an intellectual effort—both as a contribution of new splendid matter, and as an elaboration of a new splendid manner—will set at rest this kind of criticism. Even since the publication of this work we have seen remarks on the "awkwardness," "ungainliness," and so on, of the form; presumably because the lesser critics had the book to "do," and had not yet had their cue given them by more important brethren. We do not expect to hear any more about the "ungainly" form of this work; and it has been with the view of showing the lines in which this form has been developed that we have said more concerning the *technique* of Browning's art than some of our readers will perhaps consider interesting. We would fain have gone further into this branch of the subject, fain have noted the various varieties of form which the poet has conferred on the monologue. But such a course would have subtracted too much from the space we have to devote to the matter of *The Ring and the Book*; and we have said enough to give an idea of the difficulty and excellence of the psychological monologue, and of the consequent immensity of the feat which Browning has performed in taking up—not this time a single soul wherein to merge his personality, giving us another embodiment of a single situation—but a subject rich in characters, replete with vivid variety of life, teeming with complexities of intellect and emotion, full of dark unexplored mental places, and in weaving for us out of these materials a series of monologues which, while each stands perfectly by itself and makes clear its own speaker and situation, are all so welded together as to constitute an indivisible unity.

In the first book (which with many writers would have been a prose preface) the poet tells us how he found one day on a stall, while walking through Florence, an "old square yellow book," made up of documents, printed and written, relating to the trial of a Count Guido Franceschini, "and certain four, the cut-throats in his pay," for the murder of his wife Pompilia, with her putative parents Pietro and Violante Comparini: he tells how he sought to find other records of the trial, and failed—and how, finding that all trace of what had once been bruited widely over Europe had clean gone from the minds of men, he determined to "let this old woe step on the stage again," because, as he says, in digging

out the sense of the book bit by bit (for it was partly in bad Latin, though partly in Italian), he had "assayed and knew" his "piecemeal gain was gold." The foundation of fact which the poet found in his old book is not long to narrate, being simply what is chronicled in pages relating to the trial. The main facts not disputed are—that Guido married Pompilia at Rome, and took her home to his palace at Arezzo, with her putative parents, the Comparini—that the Comparini left Arezzo and returned to Rome—that after a while Pompilia followed them to Rome in the company of a young priest, Ginseppe Caponsacchi, and there gave birth to a child—that Guido then came to Rome with four accomplices and murdered both wife and parents-in-law—that thereon ensued the trial whereof the sole record is this "old square yellow book"—that an appeal was made to the Pope after condemnation of the murderers by the civil court, and that, on the Pope's judgment in the same sense being given, the murderers were—

" Found guilty and put to death
By heading or hanging as befitted ranks,
At Rome on February Twenty Two,
Since our salvation Sixteen Ninety Eight."—Vol. i. pp. 7—8.

The allegations made on Guido's side are—that the Comparini palmed off upon the Count a girl not their own at all, but purchased by Violante from a prostitute in Rome—that, being discontented with the life at Arezzo, they returned to Rome and published this infamous transaction, partly out of spite, and partly to avoid payment of dowry—that Pompilia had held adulterous converse with the priest at Arezzo; and that, finally, drugging Guido and his household, and laying hands on whatsoever property came nearest, she eloped with the priest and gave birth, eight months later, to *his* child. For this catalogue of crimes, say Guido and his friends, the three lives were made to expiate, to the satisfaction of wounded honour.

The assertions on the other side are—that Guido obtained Pompilia and dowry on false representation of his *bien-être*, inducing the Comparini to come to Arezzo on the same representations—that when there he did his worst to worry the old couple to death, exhibiting, at the same time, an unmitigated hate for the young Pompilia—that he tried all he could to get his wife to commit herself with the priest in question—that she did use his services to make good her flight out of pure fear of the Count's brutalities, and without any fault whatever

on her part—and that Guido committed the murder only when he felt that he might gratify his hate without prejudice to his monetary prospects, viz., when Pompilia had an heir to whom the property of the Comparini would descend, and who would be under his power. "This," we are told,

"is the bookful ; thus far take the truth,
The untampered gold, the fact untampered with,
The mere ring-metal ere the ring be made."—Vol. i. p. 20.*

The poet's next step in his prelude address to the public is to recount how, closing the book, he proceeded to realise the whole tragedy from first to last—to fuse his "live soul with that inert stuff;" and for power of diction and vividness of feeling there is scarcely a finer passage in the work than this wherein we learn how, after the meagre black and white of the trial had been duly conned, the tragedy presented itself in fulness of form, and richness of colour, and amplitude of detail, to a mind the foremost of our time in knowledge of the human heart, and insight into human motive. A comparison of what Browning calls "the Bookful" with what he realises after he has shut the book will yield some notion of the power of a pure and noble fancy ; and we doubt not that the dramatic account given of the genesis of this poem really represents in beautiful terms the process of transfiguration from bare fact to artistic fiction (or whatever you may please to call

* Without a word of explanation the title of the poem may be deemed fantastic, resting as it seems to do on a mere image (very beautifully set forth in the outset) of a goldsmith making a work of smithcraft out of pure gold, by transfusion of the metal with alloy, and fitting it

"To bear the file's tooth and the hammer's tap :
Since hammer needs must widen out the round,
And file emboss it fine with lily flowers,
Ere the stuff grow a ring-thing right to wear."—Vol. i. p. 2.

It is necessary to look behind this image for the true significance of the title, and to consult the inscription which "grateful Florence" placed on Casa Guidi, in memory of the former inmate Elizabeth Barrett Browning, who made, in the words of the inscription, "del suo verso aureo anello fra Italia e Inghilterra." From the gold of this old Roman murder case Browning has made a ring, which he nobly aspires to place as strengthening the former tie between England and Italy—adding another bond to the sympathies which the poetess so often and so strongly awakened with fiery bursts of lyric poetry. The expression of this aspiration closes *The Ring and the Book* :—

"And save the soul ! If this intent save mine—
If the rough ore be rounded to a ring,
Render all duty which good ring should do,
And, failing grace, succeed in guardianship—
Might mine but lie outside thine, Lyric Love,
Thy rare gold ring of verse (the poet praised)
Linking our England to his Italy !"—Vol. iv. p. 235.

the result). The story, gathered from the old book, as it stands there with its rags and tatters of human frailty obtruded everywhere, would scarcely be deemed edifying: it is only when the poet has pared off the rags and tatters, and brought forward the truths and treasures which only eyes such as his have power to discern beneath, that Beauty comes with edification in her train. Fact alone is often gross and unedifying; but fact with fancy may be, and in the hands of a great poet *must* be, quite the reverse, insomuch as to justify Browning's own dictum on the subject:—

“Fancy with fact is just one fact the more;
To-wit, that fancy has informed, transpierced,
Thridded and so thrown fast the facts else free,
As right through ring and ring runs the djereed
And binds the loose, one bar without a break.”—Vol. i. p. 25.

Next to the account of the realisation of the facts by his own powers of fancy, we get a brief reasoned analysis of the whole tragedy, as conceived by the poet—the view of the matter which *he* sees good reason for selecting from among the views, conflicting on all points, which are shown in the bare book. The following is the poet's conception of the affair:—

“Count Guido Franceschini the Aretine,
Descended of an ancient house, though poor,
A beak-nosed bushy-bearded black-haired lord,
Lean, pallid, low of stature yet robust,
Fifty years old—having four years ago
Married Pompilia Comparini, young,
Good, beautiful, at Rome, where she was born,
And brought her to Arezzo, where they lived
Unhappy lives, whatever curse the cause—
This husband, taking four accomplices,
Followed this wife to Rome, where she was fled
From their Arezzo to find peace again,
In convoy, eight months earlier, of a priest,
Aretine also, of still nobler birth,
Giuseppe Caponsacchi—and caught her there
Quiet in a villa on a Christmas night,
With only Pietro and Violante by,
Both her putative parents; killed the three,
Aged, they, seventy each, and she, seventeen,
And, two weeks since, the mother of his babe
First-born and heir to what the style was worth
O' the Guido who determined, dared and did
This deed just as he purposed point by point.

Then, bent upon escape, but hotly pressed,
And captured with his co-mates that same night,
He, brought to trial, stood on this defence—
Injury to his honour caused the act ;
That since his wife was false (as manifest
By flight from home in such companionship),
Death, punishment deserved of the false wife
And faithless parents who abetted her
I' the flight aforesaid, wronged nor God nor man.
' Nor false she, nor yet faithless they,' replied
The accuser ; ' cloaked and masked this murder glooms ;
True was Pompilia, loyal too the pair ;
Out of the man's own heart this monster curled,
This crime coiled with connivance at crime,
His victim's breast, he tells you, hatched and reared ;
Uncoil we and stretch stark the worm of hell !'
A month the trial swayed this way and that
Ere judgment settled down on Guido's guilt ;
Then was the Pope, that good twelfth Innocent,
Appealed to : who well weighed what went before,
Affirmed the guilt and gave the guilty doom."—Vol. i. pp. 41-3.

After describing the germ of the poem in its growth from fact to art, he tells us how he means to put the whole before us—enumerates the ten speeches which, with his own prologue and epilogue, are to "round the ring," and places the speakers before us, as fleshly as art can place, with their surroundings. The mere arrangement of these monologues is strikingly strong and effective. First is the speech of a citizen representing that half of contemporary Rome which sympathises with the Count ; and next speaks he who represents "the other half Rome," convinced of the blamelessness of Pompilia and the infamy of Guido : these two speeches show one-sided strong feeling, but no niceness of reasoning, while the third book is a discriminative discussion of the matter on neutral grounds, spoken by a "person of quality," representing the class—

"Who care to sift a business to the bran,
Nor coarsely bolt it like the simpler sort."—Vol. i. p. 48.

Then come in succession Guido's defence, made up of lies, with Caponsacchi's and Pompilia's statements, made up of truth ; next, the first lawyer, pleading for Guido, and the last against him—then the Pope's debate with his own soul, resulting in the judgment against the murderers—and, lastly, Guido's speech after he has heard the doom—speech wherein he tells no more lies, but gives us the naked hideous truth.

In this introductory book, then, the poet dramatises his own dramatic mind, and the situation taken up is the genesis of a great dramatic work. What more valuable opening could have been conceived? Throughout this book the figure prominently before us is Browning—Browning as he draws his subject to him and thrusts it at arm's-length again—Browning as he dives through what would be mud to many a muddy mind, and brings up, by help of his clear vision, all the hidden beauties to be found in any complex human subject—Browning as he revels in his art and in his power as a medium between contemporary humanity and the lost treasures of human grief, and passion, and splendour of devotion, which he deems he has found in the records of this forgotten case. Not on a first reading would it be apparent to most minds that the poet had handled his own soul in so splendid a manner, and embodied it in such a graphic and speaking legacy to posterity; but whoever takes the trouble to dwell a little with this first division of *The Ring and the Book*, will probably find that we have here a revelation of the poet as man and artist, such as it were well to possess of all great poets—such as we have not even of our great, grand, impersonal Shakespeare. We repeat “as man and artist,” because, although we cannot pause to dwell upon each trait of the man that has come to us in this prologue, we are certain that no sympathetic soul could fail, on due attention, to feel, to the utmost depth, the strength, and the purity, and the manliness of the whole—the strong pathos of the poet's outbreathings which relate to his own life, and the entire absence from them of anything morbid, such as one generally finds in poetry (so called) which is personal. Browning has often a grotesque way of putting things, which is clearly not intended as in any way comical, but is part and parcel of his style, and not incompatible with seriousness, or even tenderness or pathos; and in the three passages in which he speaks openly to his countrymen, addressing them as “British Public,” we cannot but feel the oddness of his expressions to us as the artifice of a strong soul to hide a pain which might be thought maudlin if expressed in anything but language the most muscular—a pain at the comparative neglect wherein his works have for many years lain. It would be absurd for a man of Browning's superb abilities to assume ignorance of those abilities; and, feeling them, it would be equally absurd to profess indifference whether they are recognised; and to us there is a profound pathos combined with a healthy independence of tone in these personal passages addressed to the British public by

one whose habit of writing is entirely impersonal. At the end of the introductory book one of these passages is linked with an address to his poet-wife—than which it would be hard to find anything more beautiful or more touching. Here is the conclusion :—

“Such, British Public, ye who like me not,
(God love you!)—whom I yet have laboured for,
Perchance more careful whoso runs may read
Than erst when all, it seemed, could read who ran—
Perchance more careless whoso reads may praise
Than late when he who praised and read and wrote
Was apt to find himself the self-same me—
Such labour had such issue, so I wrought
This arc, by furtherance of such alloy,
And so, by one spirt, take away its trace
Till, justifiably golden, rounds my ring.

A ring without a posy, and that ring mine ?

O lyric love, half-angel and half-bird,
And all a wonder and a wild desire—
Boldest of hearts that ever braved the sun,
Took sanctuary within the holier blue,
And sang a kindred soul out to his face—
Yet human at the red-ripe of the heart—
When the first summons from the darkling earth
Reached thee amid thy chambers, blanched their blue,
And bared them of the glory—to drop down,
To toil for man, to suffer or to die—
This is the same voice : can thy soul know change ?
Hail, then, and hearken from the realms of help !
Never may I commence my song, my due
To God who best taught song by gift of thee,
Except with bent head and beseeching hand—
That still, despite the distance and the dark,
What was, again may be ; some interchange
Of grace, some splendour once thy very thought,
Some benediction anciently thy smile :
—Never conclude, but raising hand and head
Thither where eyes, that cannot reach, yet yearn
For all hope, all sustainment, all reward,
Their utmost up and on—so blessing back
In those thy realms of help, that heaven thy home,
Some whiteness which, I judge, thy face makes proud,
Some wanness where, I think, thy foot may fall !”

Vol. i. pp. 72-4.

To say which of the twelve books of this poem is the most

perfect in depth and breadth of dramatic conception, or in mastery over the peculiar form of dramatic expression—which shows the deepest insight into the human heart or the highest powers of imagination—would be a hard matter; but it is not difficult to separate the monologues of primary importance from those to be regarded as accessory. The principal ones, beside this introductory one of Browning's own, are those of the actors in the tragedy, and Pope Innocent XII., on whose judgment the murderers were put to death—the opposed outpourings of divided unreasoning Rome with the critical analysis of reasoning Rome, as well as the special pleadings of the men of law, and the comparatively slight epilogue, being, however valuable in passages, evidently secondary in importance. The first of these main characters who addresses us in person is Count Guido Franceschini, as he appears before the judges and stands on his defence. No clownish, dull-witted piece of mere brutality is this Count; but a clear-headed man of the world, far above the average in abilities—a man who lives, and has lived for “the world,” in the conventional acceptance of that term, and whose ideas all centre round worldly advantage—a man to whose *heart* religion is unknown in any form, but whose *intellect* has yet appraised and considered it in many forms, and finally cast it out, choosing that worse part which he is never able to make as entirely his own as he would wish. He is before all things mean-hearted, and unsympathetic to the point of cruel cynicism: *narrow-minded* he cannot, in any sense, be called; and his acuteness of intellect, coupled with a wide knowledge of the ways of the world, enables him to place his conduct before his judges in a startlingly different light from that which we feel to be the true light. The one thing he respects is his own long line of ancestry; and even here his respect is in proportion probably to the amount of advantage a long line of ancestry gives a man in bartering or other contact with his fellows. He professes to regard the marital contract with Pompilia as a simple mercantile transaction, in which he traded his rank and position for so much youth, beauty, and money; and, in the mouth of such a man, such a profession affords a perfectly plausible foundation from which to build the grievances unrolled in his defence; nevertheless, throughout this defence, the reader's heart is firm in the faith that, for all the muscular grasp of the man on each trait convertible to his uses, the fair fame of Pompilia and the priest is not suffering in the judges' eyes. Through all the wily fluency of the Count—through all his rhetorical flashes of

wounded honour and manhood—through even his occasional outpourings of argument based on religion, we discern the serpentine subtlety of that unrivalled piece of specious falsity—a heartless and unprincipled Italian of intellect. Whether flowers of rhetoric deck the speech, or breaths of humanitarian or devout sentiment expire from it, there leers the serpent's eye or hisses the serpent's tongue. The man is put so vividly before us, not only here in his own speech, but also in dashing touches of Browning's speech, that we cannot but feel his utter falsity and ineradicable cruelty, even through passages of superb poetry, such as the following account of his waiting at Rome, after his arrival there, and before he commits the murder:—

“ . . . I was at Rome on Christmas Eve.
Festive bells—everywhere the Feast o' the Babe,
Joy upon earth, peace and goodwill to man!
I am baptised. I started and let drop
The dagger. 'Where is it, His promised peace?'
Nine days o' the Birth-Feast did I pause and pray
To enter into no temptation more.
I bore the hateful house, my brother's once,
Deserted—let the ghost of social joy
Mock and make mouths at me from empty room
And idle door that missed the master's step—
Bore the frank wonder of incredulous eyes,
As my own people watched without a word,
Waited, from where they huddled round the hearth
Black like all else, that nod so slow to come—
I stopped my ears even to the inner call
Of the dread duty, heard only the song
'Peace upon earth,' saw nothing but the face
O' the Holy Infant and the halo there
Able to cover yet another face
Behind it, Satan's, which I else should see.
But, day by day, joy waned and withered off:
The babe's face, premature with peak and pine,
Sank into wrinkled ruinous old age,
Suffering and death, then mist-like disappeared,
And showed only the Cross at end of all,
Left nothing more to interpose 'twixt me
And the dread duty—for the angels' song,
'Peace upon earth,' louder and louder pealed,
'O Lord, how long, how long be unavenged?'

° ° ° ° °

And so, all yet uncertain save the will
To do right, and the daring aught save leave

Right undone, I did find myself at last
 I' the dark before the villa with my friends.

° ° ° ° °

And then—why, even then, I think,
 I 'the minute that confirmed my worst of fears,
 Surely—I pray God that I think aright!—
 Had but Pompilia's self, the tender thing
 Who once was good and pure, was once my lamb
 And lay in my bosom, had the well-known shape
 Fronted me in the door-way—stood there faint
 With the recent pang, perhaps, of giving birth
 To what might, though by miracle, seem my child—
 Nay more, I will say, had even the aged fool
 Pietro, the dotard, in whom folly and age
 Wrought, more than enmity or malevolence,
 To practise and conspire against my peace—
 Had either of these but opened, I had paused.
 But it was she the hag, she that brought hell
 For a dowry with her to her husband's house—
 She the mock-mother, she that made the match
 And married me to perdition, spring and source
 O' the fire inside me that boiled up from heart
 To brain and hailed the Fury gave it birth—
 Violante Comparini, she it was,
 With the old grin amid the wrinkles yet,
 Opened: as if in turning from the Cross,
 With trust to keep the sight and save my soul,
 I had stumbled, first thing, on the serpent's head,
 Coiled with a leer at foot of it.

There was the end!

Then was I rapt away by the impulse, one
 Immeasurable everlasting wave of a need
 To abolish that detested life. 'Twas done:
 You know the rest and how the folds o' the thing,
 Twisting for-help, involved the other two
 More or less serpent-like, how I was mad,
 Blind, stamped on all, the earth-worms with the asp,
 And ended so."—Vol. ii. pp. 140-4.

It is in such passages as this that we learn how terrible an enemy Pompilia and Caponsacchi had to meet; and again in his address to the Cardinal and Abate, sent to apprise him of the Pope's judgment, we encounter passages which enforce the same estimate of the Count's intellectual abilities, and even show him up in a still more favourable light as regards power of mind; for it is in that second address that he casts off all invention of subtle pleas, and defends his crime on the

admission of Pompilia's innocence—speaks as one who has nothing more to gain by lying, and endeavours by a vast array of common-sense arguments to gain the intercession of the Cardinal and Abate. He maintains, throughout, a perfect hardihood and even indifference as to his execution, and on one occasion refers to his forfeited head as “flung with a flourish;” and no doubt this is a true conception of such a character—to whom some palpable evidence of the desperation of his case would be necessary before he could realise the terrors of impending death. He is not a man who, with all his subtlety and acuteness, has been in the habit of realising abstract positions: a man who did this would not commit the barbarities of Count Guido, from sheer pain of realising the victim's pain; nor could he plan deliberately such a marital barter as the Count's, from sheer discomfort of realising the mutual discomfort of a loveless wedding between an elderly man and a girl of thirteen, entirely unknown to each other: he is too heartless, too violent in his hatreds, and too quick in his subtleties, for complete and calm realisation, and therefore is able to contemplate his own death with indifference, until he actually becomes aware of the preparations being made outside for his march to the scaffold—the preparations so graphically described in the prologue:—

“For at the prison-gate, just a few steps
Outside, already, in the doubtful dawn,
Thither, from this side and from that, slow sweep
And settle down in silence solidly,
Crow-wise, the frightful Brotherhood of Death.
Black-hatted and black-hooded huddle they,
Black rosaries a-dangling from each waist;
So take they their grim station at the door,
Torches alight and cross-bones-banner spread,
And that gigantic Christ with open arms,
Grounded. Nor lacks there aught but that the group
Break forth, intone the lamentable psalm,
‘Out of the deeps, Lord, have I cried to Thee!’
When inside, from the true profound, a sign
Shall bear intelligence that the foe is foiled,
Count Guido Franceschini has confessed,
And is absolved and reconciled with God,
Then they, intoning, may begin their march,
Make by the longest way for the People's Square,
Carry the criminal to his crime's award:
A mob to cleave, a scaffolding to reach,
Two gallows and Mannaia crowning all.”—Vol. i. pp. 68-9.

It is such a character as this Count that yields a fine subject for a violent transition from outspoken, fearless hate, to terrible, heartrending pleading for life; and in the whole range of literature, probably, such a situation has never been so powerfully handled as here. In the following passage, which is the last of Count Guido's voice, we would note specially the artistic splendour of the climax, the final shriek to the murdered wife:—

"Nor is it in me to un hate my hates—
 I use up my last strength to strike once more
 Old Pietro in the wine-house-gossip-face,
 To trample under foot the whine and wile
 Of that Violante—and I grow one gorge
 To loathingly reject Pompilia's pale
 Poison my hasty hunger took for food.
 A strong tree wants no wreaths about its trunk,
 No cloying cups, no sickly sweet of scent,
 But sustenance at root, a bucketful.
 How else lived that Athenian who died so,
 Drinking hot bull's blood, fit for men like me?
 I lived and died a man, and take man's chance,
 Honest and bold: right will be done to such.

Who are these you have let descend my stair?
 Ha, their accursed psalm! Lights at the sill!
 Is it 'Open' they dare bid you! Treachery!
 Sirs, have I spoken one word all this while
 Out of the world of words I had to say?
 Not one word? All was folly—I laughed and mocked!
 Sirs, my first true word, all truth and no lie,
 Is—save me notwithstanding! Life is all!
 I was just stark mad—let the madman live
 Pressed by as many chains as you please pile!
 Don't open! Hold me from them! I am yours,
 I am the Grandduke's—no, I am the Pope's!
 Abate—Cardinal—Christ—Maria—God, . . .
 Pompilia, will you let them murder me?"—Vol. iv. pp. 194-5.

The whole of Guido's second speech, and especially these last lines, gives us the revelation of a blackened nature which is yet so intensely human in its ways and manners, and even in some of its foibles and cruelties, that we cannot but follow the intellectual clevernesses of the Count with an interest at times widening into pity. We are made to feel in the treatment of Guido that, though he is brutal, unprincipled, treacherous, and malignant, there are even for him antecedent and surrounding circumstances, not under his control, which

have helped him to develop into abnormal prominence the bad elements of his nature, and suppress almost utterly the good—that each of our human selves is conscious of petty weaknesses and small sins which might, under circumstances less favourable than ours, have led to results difficult to estimate and place definitely below the crimes of Guido; and even for the villanous Count the poet claims and gains our pity, with a sigh to boot, that the amount of intellectuality and energy of character displayed by the crafty criminal should have missed employment for good instead of evil. It is by artistically letting Guido speak last that the hardening of our hearts against one so ferocious is avoided. Had the harrowing details of the murder or any of the resultant miseries come after the picture of the poor cringing Count, as he realises for the first time the impending execution, it would have been hard to spare him the sigh we can now give for the wild desperation of his cry for life.

But, valuable as are Guido's two speeches, as a complete study of character under varying circumstances, *The Ring and the Book* would hardly be the grand work it is, from an ethic as well as an æsthetic point of view, had this depraved character been embodied thus completely for the mere sake of what was to be learned by the study of him, or for the mere pleasure of producing or contemplating a creation of unprecedented complexity and almost unrivalled finish. The Count serves a nobler purpose in the influence his energetic wickedness has in evoking the supreme beauties of character and action latent in the simply-lovely being Pompilia, and the young priest of only half-developed soul. Caponsacchi, at the time of his contact with Guido, is a young man of fine abilities and pure life enough, but not of a systematically serious and contemplative mind: he is a priest, indeed, who has accepted the priesthood after having certain scruples, incident to a fresh integrity of soul, satisfied by representation of those who should have been his best advisers, but who persuaded him that the service of the Church demanded no strait-laced conformity to the letter of the priestly oaths. His mind is one prone to take for truth that which comes with the breath of authority; and the sceptical attitude is not consonant with his nature, until he is forcibly aroused to question not only stated facts, but principles felt under ordinary circumstances to be binding. He is a youth, in fact, doing, without trouble of heart or mind, the duties represented by a worldly episcopacy as those of a priest, and not the deeds of self-devotedness whereof his nature is capable if

roused. His whole career is that not of a calmly-reasoning man, but of a man of marked impressibility. When his time comes to take the ecclesiastical oaths, these impress him as being *real*, and not matter of empty breath, and he feels that he is but ill prepared to perform them. He does not of his own forethought turn and twist them to find a sense wherein they may be laxly understood; but there comes to his assistance the counter-impression of an authoritative hierarchy, declaring in favour of his aptitude for priest's duties—whereupon he is content to cast in his lot with a church which has his profound reverence. In matters of debate he regards the inward voice which asserts the greatest sway over his feelings; and, being of a manly, unselfish nature, the result, under due stress of circumstance, is sure to be great and noteworthy. So it comes about that, when Guido forges letters purporting to be Pompilia's, begging the priest for love and help, he is not moved to think meanly of her: he has *seen* her once in a public place, and so strongly is he possessed of a feeling of incongruity between the transparent purity of her exterior and the baseness of these letters, that he unhesitatingly brushes aside all suspicion of her, and pierces at once to the heart of the fraud. Guido's machinations serve, however, to rouse thoroughly Caponsacchi's fire and energy; and when, at last, he goes, on a forged solicitation, to Pompilia's window, it is with mind prepared, and muscles braced, to pull out and belabour the forger if need be. Then it is that he actually meets Pompilia; and, hearing that the Count has also been carrying on a counter-forgery of letters to his wife, the whole man is roused to grant the assistance she beseeches him to give her in escaping from the usage she is undergoing, even though he have to cast to the winds all thought of how the gossips of Arezzo may interpret the flight of wife and priest. He accepts at once the truth of all she tells him; and, under the conviction of necessity to save her, makes the needful preparations, and carries out this breach of priestly discipline. The natural proneness to accept authority save under strong emotional conviction comes back when, for this escapade, he is relegated: he submits calmly; and, when summoned to give evidence on the trial, he obeys; but, as he warms to the discussion of the murder, his whole soul boils over in eloquent vindication of Pompilia and execration of Guido. Unawed by the august presence of judges, he stands as a man addressing men; and such a man as he whose heart is here laid bare it is hardly ever our lot to encounter

whether in art or in life. The poet's manner in this speech is subtly modified to the occasion: instead of the flow of well-considered argumentative eloquence which we get from Guido, there is here a short, direct, vivid manner of narration, while he is calmly giving evidence; but, as soon as he comes to points at which he is deeply moved at heart, up wells the fervid oratory of nature, as, for instance, in the passage wherein he speaks of the murderer's appropriate punishment:—

“I conceive—

In all due self-abasement might I speak—
How you will deal with Guido: oh, not death!
Death, if it let her life be: otherwise
Not death—your lights will teach you clearer! I
Certainly have an instinct of my own
I' the matter: bear with me and weigh its worth!
Let us go away—leave Guido all alone
Back on the world again that knows him now!
I think he will be found (indulge so far!)
Not to die so much as slide out of life,
Pushed by the general horror and common hate
Low, lower—left o' the very ledge of things,
I seem to see him catch convulsively
One by one at all honest forms of life,
At reason, order, decency and use—
To cramp him and get foothold by at least;
And still they disengage them from his clutch.
‘What, you are he, then, had Pompilia once
And so forwent her? Take not up with us!’
And thus I see him slowly and surely edged
Off all the table-land whence life up-springs
Aspiring to be immortality,
As the snake, hatched on hill-top by mischance,
Despite his wriggling, slips, slides, slidders down
Hill-side, lies low and prostrate on the smooth
Level of the outer place, lapsed in the vale:
So I lose Guido in the loneliness,
Silence and dusk, till at the doleful end,
At the horizontal line, creation's verge,
From what just is to absolute nothingness—
Lo, what is this he meets, strains onward still?
What other man deep further in the fate,
Who turning at the prize of a footfall
To flatter him and promise fellowship,
Discovers in the act a frightful face—
Judas, made monstrous by much solitude!
The two are at one now! Let them love their love
That bites and claws like hate, or hate their hate

That mops and mows and makes as it were love!
 There, let them each tear each in devil's fun,
 Or fondle this the other while malice aches—
 Both teach, both learn detestability!
 Kiss him the kiss, Iscariot! Pay that back,
 That smatch o' the slaver blistering on your lip—
 By the better trick, the insult he spared Christ—
 Lure him the lure o' the letters, Aretine!
 Lick him o'er slimy-smooth with jelly-filth
 O' the verse and prose pollution in love's guise!
 The cockatrice is with the basilisk!
 There let them grapple, denizens o' the dark,
 Foes or friends, but indissolubly bound,
 In their one spot out of the ken of God
 Or care of man, for ever and ever more!"—Vol. ii. pp. 243-5.

This burst serves to call up the scene of the priest's examination so vividly painted in the first book; and we have the suggestion of the judges, culpably neglectful at a former stage of the proceedings, cowering before the terrible tide of truth and emotion sweeping straight from the heart of a noble and outraged man who knows no guile. Perhaps, however, the highest utterance of this man is that wherewith he closes his address:—

"Sirs, I am quiet again. You see, we are
 So very pitiable, she and I,
 Who had conceivably been otherwise.
 Forget distemperature and idle heat!
 Apart from truth's sake, what's to move so much?
 Pompilia will be presently with God;
 I am, on earth, as good as out of it,
 A relegated priest; when exile ends,
 I mean to do my duty and live long.
 She and I are mere strangers now: but priests
 Should study passion; how else cure mankind,
 Who come for help in passionate extremes?
 I do but play with an imagined life
 Of who, unfettered by a vow, unblest
 By the higher call—since you will have it so—
 Leads it companioned by the woman there.
 To live, and see her learn, and learn by her,
 Out of the low obscure and petty world—
 Or only see one purpose and one will
 Evolve themselves i' the world, change wrong to right:
 To have to do with nothing but the true,
 The good, the eternal—and these, not alone
 In the main current of the general life,

But small experiences of every day,
Concerns of the particular hearth and home :
To learn not only by a comet's rush
But a rose's birth—not by the grandeur, God—
But the comfort, Christ. All this, how far away !
Mere delectation, meet for a minute's dream !—
Just as a drudging student trims his lamp,
Opens his Plutarch, puts him in the place
Of Roman, Grecian ; draws the patch'd gown close,
Dreams, ' Thus should I fight, save or rule the world !'—
Then smilingly, contentedly, awakes
To the old solitary nothingness.
So I, from such communion, pass content.

O great, just, good God ! Miserable me !"—Vol. ii. pp. 250-1.

Pompilia's character is one which makes analysis a superfluity by reason of its mere simplicity and purity. Every expression which comes from her is at once child-like and womanly; and she presents to view the beautiful combination of one to whose soul evil is unknown save as an infliction from without, and who has, at the same time, the full tale of womanly emotions. Standing between Guido and Caponsacchi, she affords a noble example of feminine endurance on the one hand, and of the power of a fine woman-nature over a fine man-nature on the other. Whoever reads her speech will feel more or less the inexpressible something, which not only conquers the educated and scrupulous Canon and the simple-minded Augustinian Friar, who acts as a confessor to her at the last, but sways towards her all who enter the hospital where her four days' dying is accomplished. The most complete description of Pompilia is that given in the first book in three words—"young, good, beautiful." The last two epithets are hard to define; but we can feel almost infallibly, on close contact, whether they apply to a person or a work of art; and thus, with Pompilia, every reader must know, before he has turned many pages of her death-bed speech, that he is reading good and beautiful poetry, which places him face to face with a good and beautiful soul. The simplicity of Pompilia is charmingly shown in passages of narrative such as this :—

"And when next day the cavalier who came
... proved Guido Franceschini—old
And nothing like so tall as I myself,
Hook-nosed and yellow in a bush of beard,
Much like a thing I saw on a boy's wrist,

He called an owl and used for catching birds—
 And when he took my hand and made a smile—
 Why, the uncomfortableness of it all
 Seemed hardly more important in the case
 Than—when one gives you, say, a coin to spend—
 Its newness or its oldness.”—Vol. iii. pp. 19, 20.

And, again, in the following passage we feel a fragrant freshness of girlhood able to survive all the terrible troubles of the young wife:—

“When I was a mere child, my mother . . . that’s
 Violante, you must let me call her so,
 Nor waste time, trying to unlearn the word, . . .
 She brought a neighbour’s child of my own age
 To play with me of rainy afternoons ;
 And, since there hung a tapestry on the wall,
 We two agreed to find each other out
 Among the figures. ‘Tisbe, that is you,
 With half-moon on your hair-knot, spear in hand,
 Flying, but no wings, only the great scarf
 Blown to a bluish rainbow at your back :
 Call off your hound and leave the stag alone !’
 ‘—And there are you, Pompilia, such green leaves
 Flourishing out of your five finger-ends,
 And all the rest of you so brown and rough :
 Why is it you are turned a sort of tree ?’
 You know the figures never were ourselves
 Though we nicknamed them so. Thus, all my life—
 As well what was, as what, like this, was not—
 Looks old, fantastic and impossible :
 I touch a fairy thing that fades and fades.”—Vol. iii. p. 10.

But it is when she speaks of her newly-born baby, that the most touching loveliness of her nature is shown:—

“Oh, how good God is that my babe was born—
 Better than born, baptised and hid away
 Before this happened, safe from being hurt !
 That had been sin God could not well forgive :
 He was too young to smile and save himself.
 When they took, two days after he was born,
 My babe away from me to be baptised
 And hidden awhile, for fear his foe should find—
 The country-woman, used to nursing babes,
 Said, ‘Why take on so ? where is the great loss ?
 These next three weeks he will but sleep and feed,
 Only begin to smile at the month’s end ;
 He would not know you, if you kept him here,
 Sooner than that ; so, spend three merry weeks

Snug in the Villa, getting strong and stout,
And then I bring him back to be your own,
And both of you may steal to—we know where!’
The month—there wants of it two weeks this day!
Still, I half fancied when I heard the knock
At the Villa in the dusk, it might prove she—
Come to say, ‘Since he smiles before the time,
Why should I cheat you out of one good hour?
Back I have brought him; speak to him and judge!’
Now I shall never see him; what is worse,
When he grows up and gets to be my age,
He will seem hardly more than a great boy;
And if he asks, ‘What was my mother like?’
People may answer, ‘Like girls of seventeen’—
And how can he but think of this and that,
Lucias, Marias, Sofias, who titter or blush
When he regards them as such boys may do?
Therefore I wish some one will please to say
I looked already old though I was young;
Do I not . . . say, if you are by to speak . . .
Look nearer twenty? No more like, at least,
Girls who look arch or redden when boys laugh,
Than the poor Virgin that I used to know
At our street-corner in a lonely niche—
The babe, that sat upon her knees, broke off—
Thin white glazed clay, you pitied her the more:
She, not the gay ones, always got my rose.”—Vol. iii. pp. 3-5.

In the mouth of the Pope, who takes so important a position in the book, Browning places judgments and sentiments, which seem to correspond with those of which he has delivered himself at starting; and beautifully does the noble old man here painted express himself on Pompilia, whom he calls—

“My rose I gather for the breast of God.”—Vol. iv. p. 46.

In the breast of the Augustinian Friar, too, her sweetness germinates; and the result is a piece of notable eloquence, such as we rarely meet. Fain would we transcribe what the poet has saved, in his epilogue, of the Friar’s funeral sermon; but we must be content with a small extract:—

“Because Pompilia’s purity prevails,
Conclude you, all truth triumphs in the end?
So might those old inhabitants of the ark,
Witnessing haply their dove’s safe return,
Pronounce there was no danger all the while
O’ the deluge, to the creature’s counterparts,

Aught that beat wing i' the world, was white or soft—
 And that the lark, the thrush, the culver too,
 Might equally have traversed air, found earth,
 And brought back olive-branch in unharmed bill.
 Methinks I hear the Patriarch's warning voice—
 'Though this one breast, by miracle, return,
 No wave rolls by, in all the waste, but bears
 Within it some dead dove-like thing as dear,
 Beauty made blank and harmlessness destroyed!'"

Vol. iv. p. 218.

Pompilia will take rank among the highest of the great women of art. Never was a character of greater solidity and clearness built of materials so simple. Complex enough are the surrounding characters and scenery; but nothing in healthy psychology can be less complex than this absolute piece of feminine integrity, displaying in every word of her mouth and at every turn of her sad history some trait of a being—

"Perfect, white and clean
 Outside as inside, soul and soul's demesne."

Like Caponsacchi, Pompilia is so little dependent on anything but nobility of character and treatment for the interest she excites, the exquisite pleasure her speech yields, and the genuine help to be got therefrom in breasting the troubles of every day, that we feel confident in the efficiency of time to make this work a popular poem—so far at least as these two books of it are concerned. It will only be necessary for the book to become widely known and circulated at a comparatively cheap rate for it to address itself, not to the limited circle who have hitherto been close readers of Browning, not even to the less limited circle who read for fashion's sake a great deal of modern poetry to the exclusion of Browning, but to the limitless circle for whom shilling Shakespeares are printed—the wide class, whose education fits them for the appreciation of whatever addresses itself to profound human feelings, though perhaps leaving them unable to appreciate the intellectual subtleties so frequently and finely embodied by the same poet.

Whether *The Ring and the Book* is a "success" in the ordinary sense, we have not to discuss; in the highest sense it certainly is. The poet himself seems not unhopeful when he says:—

"British Public, who may like me yet,
 (Marry and amen!)"—Vol. iv. p. 324.

Though he has certainly done no violence to his genius, by adopting aught from the popular style of the day, he has evidently laboured much to make his meaning perfectly clear in this last work. If popularity come in the poet's lifetime, well! "If not, well also, but not so well." Be it borne in mind that—

"What the poet writes,
He writes : mankind accepts it if it suits,
And that's success : if not, the poem's passed
From hand to hand, and yet from hand to hand,
Until the unborn snatch it, crying out
In pity on their fathers' being so dull,
And that's success too."

The idea that epics have "died out with Agamemnon and the goat-nursed gods," is one which is obviously absurd, even without practical evidence to the contrary, and has arisen from the false notion that "heroic" is a term applicable only to wars and large actions. Now that Walt Whitman has written the *Epic of Democracy* on the other side of the Atlantic, and Browning, on this side, has furnished what may be fitly termed the *Epic of Psychology*, the idea of the decease of the epic is more than ever a dead idea. The day has long gone by when heroism meant pugilism, and the might of man was measured by magnitude of muscle. Breadth of mind and width of heart come first now, and the largest action is not that which covers the greatest area and deploys the largest aggregate of physical powers, but that which involves most disinterestedness, philanthropy, purity of heart, power of thought—in short, the maximum of intellectual and moral force. For such a display, one set of modern men and women serves as well as another for types ; and the Roman murder case of 150 years ago, which has so strongly taken hold of Browning, was the germ of what is more essentially modern than any great poetic production of these latter centuries.

That we have not done critical justice to *The Ring and the Book* we are sensible. The value of a work of this magnitude from a poet with the wide artistic powers, and the "intellectual equipment," which we find in Browning, is not easy to estimate, when we take into consideration the range of a powerful poet's influence, not only on his contemporaries, but also on those to come in the long roll of the onward centuries.

- ART. IV.—1. *Siluria*. By Sir. R. I. MURCHISON, Bart. Fourth Edition. Murray.
 2. *Principles of Geology*. By Sir C. LYELL, Bart. Tenth Edition. Murray.
 3. *Biblical Studies*. By WILLIAM ROBINSON. Longmans & Co.

THE stores of facts, collected with admirable industry, from the buried archives of past time, give rise to theories of deep and deepening interest to everyone who has a mind to think and a heart to feel; but the joy arising from the grand revelations of geology has its counterpoise in the fierce dissensions created between men of science and theologians. He must be bold who ventures to mete out the blame to the disputants. If geologists have been hasty in their generalisations, and wanting in considerateness for the most cherished convictions of their neighbours, they have been assailed by theologians with irritating dogmatism and ignorance, and amid the smoke and noise of the conflict, the true conditions and terms of the controversy have been obscured. Surely the time has arrived when this chaotic strife may be relieved of some of its most painful accompaniments, and the preliminaries of peace found in a careful definition and mutual acceptance of the points really at issue. In pursuing the course thus indicated, we beg to be understood as writing in a spirit of inquiry, not dogmatically; and as modestly offering a contribution towards the settlement of a question which, at present, is embarrassing to all.

Twenty years ago, it began to be asserted in England, that the first chapter of Genesis may be poetry or legend, but certainly is not history; and that this fact, demonstrated by geology, would undermine the faith of Christians in the whole Bible.

"No one competently informed on the subject can seriously reflect on the remarkable and notorious contradiction existing between the facts disclosed at the present day by geological research, and the representations given of the creation in certain passages of the Old Testament, as literally understood, without perceiving that it is a subject which directly involves a train of consequences bearing on the entire view we must take of the nature and tenor of revelation. . . . No competently informed person, I should think, can be ignorant that the now firmly established inductive truths of geology entirely overthrow the historical character of the narrative of the six days, and by consequence that respecting the seventh along with it."—The Rev. BADEN POWELL.

Since that time the same opinions have been avowed with growing confidence, and they are now current in circles both scientific and literary. In the meanwhile, many Christian advocates, wanting in both courage and candour, have fenced with the subject, instead of boldly grappling with it. Beyond controversy the opening page of the Bible is presented to us, not as an allegory, but as history; and as such it is most distinctly recognised in the subsequent books of Scripture. To deny this or affirm it in faltering tones is fatuitous, and tantamount to a surrender of the citadel. Frankness, nay honesty, should lead us to allow that Mr. Powell reasoned plausibly. If his premiss be sound, how can we escape from his conclusion? If the first chapter of Scripture be fiction, the Bible may contain many excellent truths, but cannot be a standard of faith. Let this inference be admitted, and some of the mists of disputation are rolled away; and the controversialists will cease to fight as those who beat the air; the question in dispute being not this, Is the Bible given to teach science? but this, Is the first chapter of the Bible a true history of the creation, or is it not?

The matter of the controversy being thus defined, the conflict will be found to have its Thermopylæ and its Marathon; in other words, to gather around two points, and two only. Believers may admit that the Biblical narrative is to them unintelligible, but insist that they have, nevertheless, sufficient reasons for maintaining its verity, and waiting for discoveries by which it shall be explained and confirmed: or, they may take higher ground, and endeavour to show that the narrative is now intelligible, and in harmony with "the facts" which science has disclosed. Glancing at the first of these modes of defence, we have much more to say of the second.

The book of Genesis is the most venerable written document we possess. It is distinguished from the earliest tales of Greece, and Rome, and Britain, by its simplicity and naturalness. It abounds in dates, and names of persons and places; for example, it gives us a picture of a legal transaction between Abraham and the sons of Heth, so manifest in its truthfulness, that the scholarship of the world is now yearning and hoping for the discovery of the cave which, with the trees and borders round about, was made sure to the son of Terah 3,800 years ago. The Old Testament comes down to us sealed by the faith of a whole nation. Its code of jurisprudence, its morals and theology, stand out in most obvious and striking contrast to all other ancient writings, and loudly challenge that philosophy which ascribes results so diverse to

the same cause. Thousands of acute and honest men, when they compare the Old Testament with other ancient writings, are constrained to recognise in the former the finger of God. And the evidence is cumulative. The Jews expected the coming of Messiah to found a kingdom, which should surpass all other kingdoms in glory and endurance : and at this hour all the mightiest potentates of the world bow the knee to Jesus of Nazareth. Literary productions, showing forth His praise, amounting to uncounted hundreds of millions, have been issued within the last half-century ; and myriads of holy and benevolent men declare that they have found through Him the noblest life. Fairly may the advocates of revelation plead that, if the Bible be not the Word of God, its existence is among the greatest of all mysteries ; and that such a book, having stood the test of successive millenniums, is not to be set aside by the conclusions of a science which has not stood the test of a lifetime, and during its brief existence has been unavoidably distinguished by the variety and contradiction of its dogmas. Such is the battle-field on which incredulous men of science and believers may first join issue ; the latter resting their cause on the strength of the evidence which proves the inspiration of Scripture, and arguing that the difficulties connected with the Mosaic cosmogony when weighed against that evidence are slight. Every system of truth is open to plausible objections. It need, therefore, excite no surprise, that in the middle of the nineteenth century some new and specious objections should be brought against the Divine authority of those records which have outlived a thousand previous assaults. To abandon the faith of ages for the half-formed theories of the current era is not wise.

Sooner or later, however, the disputants must advance to the final conflict, and vain is it to deny the magnitude of the cause at stake. The controversy cannot be thrust aside, and it is not difficult to perceive the inevitable alternative it involves. Either "the facts" referred to by Professor Powell must receive a new interpretation, or the Biblical narrative must be abandoned. Between the dissonance or harmony of the two, is the death-struggle. It is quite conceivable that new light will be thrown on the subject, sufficient to prove that the description of creation in the book of Genesis is scientifically admissible, and, therefore, *may be true*, which would silence the objections to which it is exposed : or, the controversy in its progress may prove that the record is true : in which last case, that record will yield resistless evidence of its being from God, and be amongst the most effective means

of restoring the now trembling faith of mankind. If neither of these results be attained, the whole structure of Biblical belief must be, as Mr. Powell anticipated, undermined. The criticism which should *prove*—for it is not enough to pretend to prove—the history of the first seven days to be mythical, would shroud in painful mystery the fourth commandment, and with it the whole revelation of Horeb; and would involve in obscurity and doubt the character and teaching of Him who said: “If ye believe not the writings of Moses, how shall ye believe My words?” The following pages will make it manifest that nothing is farther from our purpose than to give needless pain to any reader; but, as Christians, we deem ourselves bound to treat with honest candour those from whom we may differ most widely.

The scriptural account of creation is presented to us in the plainest words, and the construction of the sentences is as simple as possible. It shows that, before the human era, the globe was divided into two parts; the one containing the water, the other being without form, and void, and dry: dry, not merely, as it would seem, from the absence of seas and rivers, but from the absence also of rain and atmosphere. In other words, the second verse of the Bible implies that this world had its waters in one part, on which the sun never shone; and that the other part was dry and barren. Unless it were so, we should be prepared to say plainly, what Mr. Powell insinuated, that our views of inspiration must be essentially modified. Now, have we the means of showing that a globe in that condition is supposable scientifically? And further, have we any means of showing that this world was probably in that condition at a recent time? These are the questions into which Mr. Robinson has entered in one of his *Biblical Studies*, and which we have to discuss. Adopting the words of Butler’s famous sentence, “Thus much, at least, will be here found, not taken for granted, but proved, that any reasonable man, who will thoroughly consider the matter, may be as much assured as he is of his own being, that it is not, however, so clear a case that there is nothing in it.”

The nearest of all the heavenly bodies is now in a condition very similar to the former condition of this world as described by Moses. We avail ourselves of an admirable lunar photograph:—

“Astronomical observations of undoubted accuracy compel us to admit that the hemisphere of the moon which is turned towards our earth is not surrounded by any atmosphere at all; or, at least, that

any atmosphere which does exist must be so rare and so low as to be quite unfit for the support of animal and vegetable life. It now appears, however, that this circumstance is attributable rather to the peculiar constitution of the moon herself, than to a total want of any lunar atmosphere whatever. It is well known that the moon revolves once upon her own axis during one revolution round the earth, so that she would constantly turn the same hemisphere towards us, if it were not that, owing to the effect of a slight oscillation in her movement, which astronomers call her libration, there is a narrow marginal zone on either limb of her surface, which is sometimes visible and sometimes concealed. To account, on mechanical principles, for the permanence of this arrangement, it is necessary to assume either that the figure of the moon is that of a very irregular spheroid, or else that her mass is distributed very irregularly within her surface. The former supposition is precluded by the accurate measurements which have been made of the moon's disc in different states of libration; we have no choice, therefore, but to accept the latter. It is, therefore, exceedingly probable that the centre of the moon's figure does not coincide with her mechanical centre, or centre of gravity; and this conjecture has suggested to Professor Hansen—probably the most eminent authority among living astronomers upon the Lunar Theory—a very interesting astronomical investigation. From an accurate comparison of the libration of the moon with the perturbations which she experiences in her orbital motion, Professor Hansen infers that the centre of the moon's figure lies about 59,000 mètres, that is, about eight geographical miles (reckoning fifteen miles to a degree of the equator), nearer to us than the centre of gravity; and hence it follows, that between the two hemispheres of the moon there must exist a considerable difference with respect to level, climate, and all other circumstances depending thereon. 'It follows,' he continues, 'if we suppose the moon to be a sphere, that the centre of the visible disc of the moon lies about 59,000 mètres above the mean level, and the centre of the opposite hemisphere almost as much under the same level. We need not then, under these circumstances, wonder that the moon when viewed from the earth appears to be a barren region, deprived of an atmosphere, and of animal and vegetable life, since if there existed upon the earth a mountain proportionably high, and having consequently an elevation of 216,000 mètres, or twenty-nine geographical miles, there would not be recognisable upon its summit the slightest trace of an atmosphere, or of anything depending thereon. We must not, however, conclude, that on the opposite hemisphere of the moon the same relations exist, but, rather, we should expect, in consequence of the distance of the centre of figure from the centre of gravity, that an atmosphere and vegetable and animal life may there find place. Nearly at the moon's limbs the mean level must exist; consequently we might reasonably expect to discover there some trace of an atmosphere.'—*Oxford Essays*, 1855, pp. 137, 138.

Let it be supposed that our world was ten thousand years ago as the moon is now, its times of rotation and revolution being equal to each other, one hemisphere bulging and the other being proportionately depressed. In that case one part was all dry, a mere wilderness of rock, without either water or atmosphere, or life; and the other part a deep, on which darkness perpetually brooded: therefore, when we are informed that the dry land was without form and void, and darkness was on the face of the deep, we have but to look to the moon and learn that it is at least *possible* for a world to be in that state. Whether the description as applied to this planet can be verified or disproved by investigation, may be questioned; but that the theory of a globe in that state is in harmony with science, none, it is presumed, will deny. That harmony is a modern discovery. For thousands of years men knew not that there could be a world with one side barren, and the other a dark deep. Science, in its growth, has shown this to be possible. How came there to be a record of phenomena thus scientifically harmonious in the opening lines of the oldest book in the world?

Carefully following our scriptural history, we may find that other parts of it, if not wholly intelligible, are, at least, like the lunar mountains, tipped with light. We know that there was life here in pleiocene and post-pleiocene times; and if in its pre-Adamite state this world was in shape and motion as the moon is thought to be now, all the life must have been in the depressed part where the waters were. It is written, "The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters," implying that the Spirit of God did not move on the part that was without form and void. The action of the Spirit of God interpreted by the words, "Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created," shows that there was animated existence, not where it was dry and barren, but—where the waters were. We reach, therefore, again the conclusion that the first lines of the primeval record, so far from being unscientific, describe accurately what the most advanced science assumes may be the present distribution of the mass and life of the moon; and with equal accuracy what must have been the state of this globe, as to shape, light, and life, if it formerly hung and moved as the moon does now.

Beyond controversy the scriptural account of creation implies that just before the human era our present division of day and night did not exist. If the world rotated then as now, it is hard to see how the history of creation can be true. On the other hand, if the history in its commencement bear that

interpretation which we have endeavoured to show it must bear, the sun might always be seen from the dry part, but never from the part where the waters lay. Men may deny that the globe did hang and roll with one hemisphere continually opposite to the sun, and the other always in darkness. They cannot, however, deny that such a state is possible; and if it did exist, day and night did not. The Scripture then appears, yet again, consistent with itself; for it describes the world as being formerly in a condition very like the moon, and then teaches that day and night were not. The science of the middle of the nineteenth century can readily reply that, of course, if the first part of the description be true, the last must be: but how came these things to be linked together in the first sentences of history?

Assuming that the world was formerly as the moon is, the first step towards bringing it into its present state would be the imparting to it diurnal rotation. Whether that could be effected by a prodigious escape of internal heat, combined with the throwing off into space in fragments huge portions of the substance it had previously contained, or by any other conceivable means, we care not to inquire, being well content to resolve the process by which day and night were created, that is, by which the world was made to assume its present rotation, into the resources of the Creator; but once more we call attention to the reasonableness of the narrative, presuming that, though not given to teach science, it was given to declare facts and not fables. If the moon were to be made to resemble our dwelling-place, her rotation must be quickened nearly thirty-fold. The Bible, in its second verse, pictures a world very like the moon as it is, and in its next verses tells us of a change by which light and darkness were made to alternate as they now do: this implies the quickening of its rotation. Still the testimony is consistent in its different parts.

Were such a change to take place in the lunar orb to-day, the waters and atmosphere on her farther side—supposing their existence—would be flung into wildest disorder, but might still be limited to her depressed hemisphere. To clothe the whole in an atmosphere in which the light might play and the clouds rest, and the thunder find its home, would be another indispensable step in the creative process. To accomplish it, the two centres of bulk and gravity must be identified. That mighty change would hurl the waters in chaotic confusion into the part previously dry, and a movement so convulsive would, probably, wrap the globe in gloom,

which, though not concealing the distinction between day and night, would wholly obscure, for a while, sun and stars. Our record teaches us that the existing atmosphere did not swathe the world till the second day, and that then, though it admitted the "light" to appear in it, the "lights" did not appear. Assume the state of our cosmos as described in the second verse, and there must have been subsequently the production of the atmosphere as it is now, which was as important to Adam and his race as the sea or the dry land. Still, therefore, the Biblical history travels along a route in which science may accompany it with humble delight.

At the stage we have reached in the work of creation, the waters of seas and rivers are commingled and dashing about the globe. By the Creator's arrangement they are made to descend to their appointed beds and channels, and a portion of the dry land is stored with vegetable life—perhaps a very small portion—that in future, if men should be wise, vegetable and animated existence might spread *pari passu*, and the Adamic race have only to sow and plant without the trouble of clearance.

The Hebrew scholar knows that in the history of the fourth day God is not said to create the luminaries of heaven, but to prepare them (compare Genesis xviii. 7, 8), and to "give" them in the firmament to be for signs and seasons, and days and years. They serve that purpose now, as our children are taught by the use of the globes. They constitute our measures of duration. Those measures originated when the world received its present rotation, and became apparent when the sky was cleared from the obscurity occasioned perhaps by the convulsions which the great creative process produced. In other words, the "lights," the lamps of the sky, were first revealed in the firmament on the fourth day, for the use of all generations. The home being thus provided, animated beings, few in kind, as far as the narrative teaches, but including those made in the image of God, were created to take the place of those which had perished in the previous convulsions. It is remarkable that no mention is made of the creation of fish; for though the breaking up of the world would be destructive of terrene and amphibious life, it might leave undestroyed as much marine life as was requisite for peopling the newly-formed seas.

Such, we submit, is a fair interpretation of the history, which seems plainly to teach:—(1) that before the Adamic era the world was divisible into two parts, one of which was desert and dry, the other a deep with darkness resting on it;

the water and darkness being in one portion, the other portion being dry and without darkness; (2) that the deep was not void, but stored with life; (3) that day and night, and, therefore, the present rotation, existed not; (4) that the globe received in rapid succession its present rotation, its present atmospheric condition, its present distribution of land and water, the commencement of its new flora, the signs of the firmament, and, finally, the commencement of its new fauna, fish excepted. It will not, perhaps, be questioned that this is, subject to minute corrections, an accurate statement of the Biblical testimony. If scientific men can show that it represents impossibilities, let them do so. Confessing that their success would, to us, blight hope and cover the face of revelation with a dark cloud, we recognise the obligation of bowing to the truth at every cost. But if the record cannot be disproved, let incredulous men forbear from asserting that it is not history. And if it be sustained already by a large amount of evidence, which further investigation bids fair to augment to absolute demonstration, let geologists rejoice with us in the hope that their science will reconstruct, and for ever confirm, the now shattered faith of Christendom.

We assume that in times geologically recent our polar axis and its inclination have undergone little or no change; and infer, from evidence hereafter to be produced, that before the human era the dry part of the globe was the present southern, and the deep the northern, hemisphere: which latter would in that case be a vast archipelago, having its ocean much deeper and more extensive than now; and, through the depression of the hemisphere, its warmest region would be the polar. The shore of its ocean would be towards the equator, and would run round the globe in about the same latitude, its limits being somewhat varied by bold rocks in some places, and level areas in others. From the oceanic limit, clouds would pass towards the equator as far as the atmosphere would sustain them; at their greatest distance in that direction there would be immense stores of snow and ice; and rivers would pour down their waters, all running northwards to the coast. On the half of the world thus described, the direct light of the sun would never shine. The other half would be always opposite the sun, barren and dry, without the diffused light which our atmosphere produces, but not dark. In the case supposed, it is manifest that aqueous strata in great abundance would be formed on this side of the world, while none were formed on the other; and when the

equatorial boundary was broken down, and the two hemispheres were brought to the same mean level, the waters which rushed from the north to the south would bear with them a prodigious amount of *detritus*, and strew it over all regions even to the south pole. Our inquiry now becomes simple. Are there any indications that this planet was recently in the state we have supposed, and that it has since undergone the changes we have described?

In the noble work named at the head of this article, Sir Charles Lyell suggests that, possibly, the seas may repeatedly have changed their places,—that they may have been all grouped at one time about the equator, at another about the poles; and he has presented us with maps illustrating these supposed varieties in the distribution of land and water. When, therefore, we assume that the waters were formerly all in one hemisphere, our supposition, instead of being extravagant beyond all example, falls far within the limits to which speculation is carried by the most eminent geological writer of the age. The common belief is, that for cycles of ages before the historic era land and water were distributed in general as they now are. If that opinion be correct, the miocene, pleiocene, and post-pleiocene deposits must exist alike in the north and south: the two hemispheres, in respect to their recent aqueous formations, must be twins. As far as the geological inquest has been pushed, the reverse of this is found to be true. There is a great, significant, and hitherto unexplained difference between the two. If an explorer wander about England, he is continually meeting with new deposits, and can trace his way backward through them to the oldest tertiary sediment. Similar phenomena abound throughout Europe, Asia, North America, and northern Africa. That the waters covered for long periods very large portions of all those countries since the eocene date, and have left indubitable traces of their presence and power, is by none disputed. There is, we believe, no one part of the southern hemisphere to which the same statements can be applied: and if it be questioned whether the distinction between the north and south is thus definite and universal, at least it cannot be denied that it is very broad. "Such," says Sir R. I. Murchison, "as South Africa is now, such have been her main features during countless ages anterior to the existence of the human race." Let the traveller observe the coasts of our little island, he will find them studded with marine and fluvial deposits from the newest, in long and almost complete succession to the oldest, tertiary: but Mr. Darwin, one of the most exact

explorers, examined both sides of the continent of South America, and found no extensive fossiliferous sediment of any age between the older tertiary and that of quite modern date. Australia—at present imperfectly known—seems to differ more widely from our hemisphere than any other region. The absence of large rivers, and its general barrenness, as asserted by travellers who have crossed it from south to north, justify this supposition; in the opinion of Mr. Woods, that small part of Australia he describes is similar to what Europe was immediately after the secondary period. Professor Sedgwick, in his preface to Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, traces the difference between the two parts of the world farther back, and describes it as being enormously great. "Should these conjectures turn out an approximation to the truth, South Africa will then, like Australia, be denuded of the greater part of those grand European and British deposits we call mesozoic. The same may be said of South America: and thus we may seem to be almost shutting out from the southern hemisphere the noble monuments of past time which decorate the middle period of the earth's history." This quotation embraces times much more remote than our present inquiry, and is adduced only for the purpose of showing that the geological diversity of the two hemispheres is not slight, but prodigiously great, and demands for its explanation some cause of corresponding magnitude. Imagine that the water was—not always, but—formerly all on this side of the equator, and both the youth of the northern and the hoary age of the southern strata are explicable. Otherwise these phenomena are wrapped in mystery. Freely do we grant that it is impossible at present to demonstrate the entire dryness of the south in pliocene and post-pliocene times: but ere long geologists may admit it as one of the elementary truths of their science.

In the appendix of *Siluria*, the author says, "All geologists, as far as I know, subscribe to the truth of the apparently paradoxical aphorism, 'stability of the waves, mobility of the land.'" We venture to call in question this aphorism, and the more resolutely because the most eminent geologists concur in representing the stability of the waves as probable only, not certain: so that if any lean to the hypothesis of Mr. Robert Chambers, who, in his work on *Ancient Sea Margins*, p. 278, avows his firm belief that the sea formerly stood from 1,200 feet to 1,500 feet above its present mark, he is not to be regarded as out of the pale of argument. One of two changes we must admit. Either the water has stood

at a much higher elevation than now, or the solid ground must have undergone changes of level so many, and so great, that the bare conception of them awakens astonishment strongly tending to incredulity.

In connection with the permanence or change of the sea-level, it is natural to refer to the remarkable terraces in the north of Scotland, which are too well known to require minute description. One of them is between 1,100 feet and 1,200 feet in height, and runs for twenty miles without, as far as is known, varying a single foot in elevation. All are agreed that it was formed by water, standing at that height for a long time. The most obvious explanation seems to be, that the mountain top was formerly more bulky than now, and that the water, eating into the side of the mountain, caused the *débris* of the upper part to fall, so lessening the bulk from the summit to the water-level, and increasing the bulk below the water-level; in which case it is evident that the materials rolled down would form, at least, one other terrace-like accumulation at or toward the bottom. The remarkable fact, however, we have chiefly to notice is, the undisputed existence of a large body of water more than a thousand feet above the present sea-mark. How came it to be there? The leaders of popular opinion find the cause in glaciers, and confess that they have no other cause to assign. We are asked to believe that huge barriers of ice blocked up the glens, one at least of these barriers towering a thousand feet above the valley on which it rested; that they were of sufficient strength and permanence to hold in for ages the vast lake that was forming the terraces, and keep it at the same level; and yet, that the temperature was so moderate as to leave the surface fluid! Nor is this the only difficulty that besets us: for if "stability of the waves, mobility of the land," is to be our creed, the recent marine remains found in the neighbourhood of Glen Roy, more than 600 feet above the sea, prove that there must have been, to a prodigious extent, both subsidence and upheaval of the land; whereas the perfectly equable terraces demonstrate the entire absence of such changes. Sir C. Lyell, with his accustomed candour, admits the difficulty, and leaves it for future solution. Surely, then, we are justified in asking that it may be universally understood that the permanence of the ocean-level is yet an open question.

Beyond the Rocky Mountains, by the rivers Thomson and Fraser, there are terraces similar to those of Glen Roy, but on an immensely larger scale, running 300 miles by the Fraser alone. They occur on the mountains on both sides

the river, being of the same height on both, Their exact elevation has not been ascertained, at least, is not known in England. It would be rash to affirm that both they and the Scotch terraces did not originate in local causes; but it is far from certain, that they are not to be ascribed to a common cause. The information given in the volumes of Macdonald, Mayne, Milton and Cheadle, and in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1861, presents estimates, not measurements. In the last-named work, the town of Lytton, situate at the junction of the Thomson and Fraser, is described as on the second terrace. One of the travellers, who has obliged us by a private communication, states, that the town is 780 feet above the sea-level; and Lord Milton and Dr. Cheadle, who, in their daring journey, could not tarry for measurement, estimate the elevation of the highest above the second "bench" as 400 or 500 feet. It seems, therefore, not improbable, that both in North Britain and in British Columbia the topmost terrace is between 1,100 and 1,200 feet above the ocean. Identity of height cannot, at present, be affirmed, but intensely interesting is the supposition that it may hereafter be proved; and if, when accuracy has been insured, it shall be found that the uppermost terraces of the old world and the new are precisely of the same height, that identity will—to adopt the words of Mr. R. Chambers—"justify a question regarding level, not only throughout North America, but also—bold as the idea may in the present state of knowledge and hypothesis appear—between the old and new continents."

That the solid ground has been and is subject to depression and upheaval, admits of no dispute; some of its movements have been prodigiously great, and have produced many of the phenomena which the strata of the globe exhibit. But it is still open to us to consider whether that cause be a tenable explanation of all the phenomena, and whether mobility of the waters—that is, great change or changes in the sea-level—may not also have been among the mightiest agencies in the production of the existing mundane cosmos. If we take our stand on a moderate eminence, and—*assuming the stability of the waters*—look around, we are driven to the conclusion that the scene spread out at our feet has been "many times in succession the bottom of the sea, and a portion of the dry land." Observing the extensive districts in Europe and America, where the strata are not disarranged, but *in situ*, geologists would now probably hesitate to apply these words, as Dr. J. P. Smith did, to almost every spot on the earth's

surface; but they still hold to the strange opinion that this island, for example—or a very large portion of it—was, “at least, 1,700 feet” lower than it is, and that different parts of it have risen and sunk, somewhat like dough in the process of kneading; and they explain in like manner the marine fossil fauna and flora of most parts of the globe. An ordinary observer, accustomed to think of the rocks as somewhat solid, is startled by the facility with which geologists speak of them as though they were almost viscid, and might be pressed downward or upward and suffer but little damage. Point to some place where, if the waters have been stable, the ground must repeatedly have gone far down for sea-bathing, and as often have shaken its tresses and come up into mid-air, and you create no difficulty in the mind of the geological devotee; though to yourself it may seem all but certain that such changes, occurring repeatedly, must by the crash and breakage have converted the crust of the world into a chaos of rubble. Can there be any one of our readers not thoroughly committed to the current theory, who, when standing on the Suffolk cliffs, or by the opening of some cave like that near Torquay, or in some similar spot, has not felt that it would be easy to interpret the indubitable signs of marine action he observed, could he but find any hypothesis that would warrant him in assuming that the level of the ocean has varied? We appeal to the sturdiest advocates of “stability of the waters,” and ask them if they have not often found the notion of the billowy movements of the whole crust of the globe to be a severe strain on their credulity; a strain from which it would be pleasant to escape by assuming the mobility of the waters, if only some theory could be framed justifying that assumption. Such a theory is now presented; and if it seem too bold, let the reader remember that past changes have unquestionably been such as no meagre hypothesis can account for. Geologists who accept the wild glacial fancies now in vogue, holding that incalculable ages must have elapsed since the setting in of the glacial era, and that if all the striæ “were caused by land ice, this monstrous glacier must have been, at least, 2,200 feet thick when passing over Ireland, and must have started near the North Pole, and flowed southwestward far beyond Ireland,”* need not stand aghast at the views propounded in this article; and they may look at them with the more tolerance, because it is certainly within the

* *Journal of the Royal Geological Society of Ireland*, vol. i. pt. 3, p. 198.

compass of geology either to confirm or explode them. If not just at present, yet by a slightly increased amount of investigation, they will be able to affix to them their absolute yea or nay: for if there be an ocean on the farther side of the moon, and the greater part of it were rolled to the side we see, there would certainly be left traces of the moon's present condition, and of the roll of the waters from one hemisphere to the other. It is for geologists to consider whether proofs of such a change do not abound on the earth.

As the south indicates the absence of water there in recent pre-historic times, so does the north present other evidence than that of the terraces already described, of the existence of much more water than it now contains. The prairies of North America, the plains of Europe, and a large part of Asia were recently under the sea. The very extensive prevalence of the waters where now they are not, from the Arctic regions to the latitude of the great Sahara, is undeniable. Rough and violent is the common explanation. With far greater ease may the facts be accounted for, by supposing that the sea-level was formerly far higher than now, and that the outspread ocean then deposited those new formations which the geologist finds *in situ* upward to a great height.

According to the theory now advanced, the water found its boundary where the land bulged, so as to prevent it from flowing southward, and, as already stated, in about that latitude would be a shore engirdling the world. Sandy and other deposits would be formed, of course, elsewhere, chiefly as now in the shallowest parts of the ocean, and wherever rivers emptied themselves, such rivers flowing both from the many islands of the hemisphere, and from the region lying between its oceanic boundary and the equator; but certainly there would be a coast corresponding in its magnitude to the vast extent and power of the ocean. Have we not still the remains of this coast open to our inspection in the sandy regions of Mexico; the great sand-bank of the Bahamas; the Sahara, with its sands 800 miles from north to south, 1,600 miles from west to east, and extending still eastward through Arabia? If the reader glance at a terrestrial globe, he will see that the land in the latitude referred to is now for the most part under water; but where it still remains visible, there are found traces of the coast-line for which we plead. Current theories leave unexplained these phenomena, some of which are very grand and suggestive from their extent. We ask for some consideration for an hypothesis which would leave them in mystery no longer.

Two difficulties will present themselves to the mind of the reader, and, perhaps, dispose him to regard our suggestions as the reveries of ignorance. If, as implied in the foregoing pages, our southern hemisphere faced the sun, as the part of the moon visible to us now faces her primary the earth, whence came the light and warmth unquestionably required by the life, vegetable and animal, then existing on this side of the equator? The difficulty is freely admitted, and its greatness; but if it can be shown that it is not insuperable, its existence cannot outweigh the positive evidence in support of our theory which has been presented, and is yet to be augmented. It is certain, then, that in the case supposed, the darkness would not be total. There would be the light of the moon and stars as now. There would be the earth's own luminousness, supposed to be considerable in amount. There would be probably over an extensive belt on this side the line, light from the sun refracted by the atmosphere and always present. There would be auroras which, playing in one hemisphere only, might for that reason be more frequent and brilliant than now.* From these causes, perhaps from an atmosphere of different chemical constitution from that now existing, and from other unknown causes, we may conceive it possible that without the direct rays of the sun there might be a degree of luminosity sufficient for the fauna and flora then living: for it admits of doubt, whether the tenants of the globe during the eras to which alone our inquiry extends, were fitted to bear the solar radiance; and it is certain, that "the deep" might be occupied by creatures to which gloom is more favourable than brightness. "Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest creep forth." On the whole, therefore, without pretending to disguise the difficulty respecting light, we submit that it is not fatal.

But how about the warmth? Would not the absence of the sun leave the whole hemisphere to congelation? Not necessarily, for the causes of warmth are various. The internal heat of the earth is commonly supposed to have been much greater formerly than at present, and by many is thought to have been "in great measure" the source of its former temperature. Mr. Hopkins, of Cambridge, a high authority, gave it as his opinion, that the quantity of heat received from

* "The captain hailed me with the words, 'Come above, Hall, at once, the world is on fire.' No mortal hand can truthfully describe the scene. No sun, no moon, yet the heavens were flooded with light. Even ordinary print could have been easily read on deck."—*Life with the Esquimaux*, by CAPTAIN C. F. HALL, vol. i. p. 156.

stellar radiation by the earth "may, for aught we know, be much greater than that we receive from solar radiation;" and, according to his calculation, if our atmosphere were about one-fifth higher than it is—which, at least, would probably be the case if it were restricted to one hemisphere—we might have warmth enough without the sun;* and this supposition receives some countenance from the great distances from the central luminary at which some of the planets roll. We are not, therefore, to conclude that a sunless hemisphere must have been frozen, or devoid of as much warmth as was required by the life it contained.

It is notorious that temperature depends greatly on level. There is a month's difference in the time of harvest at Hebron and Jericho. The people of Geneva, and of Northern Italy, amid the intensest heat of summer, lift up their eyes to the hills which are always snow-clad because of their loftiness. If this hemisphere were formerly a deep, we presume the region about its pole would be the lowest part of that deep, and, therefore, the warmest part, and might have a steaming climate. Now it is certain, that our Arctic regions had a mild climate in pleiocene times. The abundant remains of buried life found there, place this startling fact beyond controversy. Current theories wholly fail to give a reasonable solution of that mystery, which Professor Haughton, in his appendix to *McClintock's Narrative*, terms the *opprobrium geologicorum*. Our hypothesis renders it intelligible.

Assuming that the sea-level of the north was more than a thousand feet higher than now, there must have been one, if not more than one, great rush of waters into the south; in which case we may expect to find the evidence of cataclysmal action from north to south on the grandest scale, and at an era geologically recent. In the year 1830, the Government of Massachusetts took steps for securing an extensive survey. The Report was presented by Dr. Edward Hitchcock, whose testimony will be best given in his own words.

"I shall probably be thought by some either ignorant of the present state of geology, or unreasonably tenacious of former opinions, for retaining the term *diluvium* to designate that coating of gravel, sand, and clay covering the surface almost everywhere, and resulting from aqueous agency between the deposition of the tertiary and alluvial strata. By doing this, I do not intend to advocate the opinion that all this deposit is the result of one transient deluge; but in New England the greater part of it certainly appears as if the

* *Transactions of Cambridge Philosophical Society*, vol. ix. p. 634.

result of water rushing over the surface in the manner of a deluge. . . . Whatever correction future observers may be obliged to make in my statements, I feel quite sure they will never doubt that the diluvial waters in Massachusetts took a direction between south and south-east, and that they have left upon the solid ledges innumerable furrows and scratches as proofs of their direction and great power. . . . I considered whether one general drift might have produced all these grooves in Massachusetts, or not . . . and am inclined to the former opinion, though not confident of its correctness." Dr. Hitchcock speaks of the extent of this cataclysm. "All the northern parts of our continent have been swept over by a powerful current from the north-west to the south-east. . . . I am not able to say whether the highest point in Massachusetts shows the marks of this current, or the highest point in New England; but many other parts nearly as high bear those marks most strikingly, Mount Everett 2,600 ft. high, and in New Hampshire, Monadnoc, 3,250 ft. high. . . . The diluvial waters must have been oceanic. What other agency could have produced a current 2,000 miles in width, I am unable to conceive." May not all this be explained by the theory of upheaval? "There is no reason to suppose the inequalities of surface which now exist were essentially different at the epoch of diluvial action; . . . for we find the boulders obstructed just as they would have been if the present mountains then existed." But may not glacial action explain the phenomena? "I am unable to see how this agency (glacial) could have transported *detritus* in a southerly direction several hundred miles over nearly all the most elevated ridges of this country, almost without reference to the direction of those ridges, and even have driven it upward along slopes considerably inclined, as appears to have been done on the western side of New England."—*Report*, vol. ii., pp. 350, 395, 397, 398, 403.

At the anniversary of the Royal Geographical Society on the 24th of May last, the President referred to "the former and present physical changes of the earth compared," and is reported to have said that he "was led irresistibly to the conclusion that not long before, and possibly even after, the creation of the human species, there took place some of those greatest disruptions of the surface of the globe of which its surface presented innumerable records. . . . No such forces (as the present riverine and atmospheric action) will account for the complete denudation and clean sweeping which has taken place in innumerable plateaus, deep valleys, and gorges of hard rocks. . . . Though never parsimonious of time to account for the stupendously long history of succession, I am equally convinced, from the nature of the contortions, fractures, and dislocations of the crust of the earth, that these must have been accompanied by diluvial and transporting waves of incomparably greater power of translation, and consequently of denudation, than any force which man has ever witnessed. I dwell with emphasis on these phenomena of former physical changes as compared with those with which modern geographers

are acquainted, because from this comparison we may reasonably infer that if an earthquake and oscillation of the land of our period can produce such wondrous effects by one wave, as on the Peruvian coast during the last year, the effect of the infinitely grander waves of translation, which must often have been put into play during the former gigantic oscillations of the crust, must well have cleared the hills and valleys of all those broken materials which were left there by the sudden upheavals of former times, whilst no ordinary diurnal atmospheric action, and no currents of the sea as they now act, could have produced such remarkable results." According, therefore, to the opinion of Sir R. I. Murchison, there were recently some vast disruptions of the globe, attended by a prodigious rush of water. So far he agrees with Dr. Hitchcock, and both with the Bible.

Such a change as we have supposed in the structure of the globe would not only alter, but alter *suddenly*, the temperature of the Arctic regions. The proofs of that change and its suddenness are found, as Cuvier judged, in the frozen carcases of animals in the north; and in the opinion of the same distinguished man, the evidence also exists of a great deluge a few thousand years ago. Such a change would sweep all sort of *débris* of earth and rocks and animals southward,* transporting to a considerable distance large boulders: for things solid lose one-third or more of their weight when suspended in water; and the power of water to move bodies increases as the sixth power of the velocity of the current. Double the velocity, and the power is increased 64 times; treble it, the power is increased 729 times; with four-fold velocity, it is increased 2,048 times; and so on with every augmentation of speed. We may, therefore, suppose, if not assert, that such a deluge as Cuvier and others find to have been among the recent phenomena of the globe, best explains the scattered boulders which have hitherto been regarded as the great proof of glacial action, and also most of the alluvial deposits which are strewn over all the earth; for such a rush of water would

* "The heads of these extinct elephants were for the most part turned towards the south, as if the animals had been retreating southward when caught either by an inundation proceeding from the north polar region, or by a change of climate due to a wide elevation of land, their former pasture grounds being converted into the frozen soil in which the mammoths have been preserved to this day. . . . All northern Siberia which is now so glacial was, during the age in which the mammoths lived, covered with a vegetation adequate to support vast hordes of these huge animals even up to 75° N. lat. . . . I now infer that the chief masses of such marine drift were deposited while a prodigious change of climate was being effected over the northern hemisphere. . . . When the great and possibly sudden change of climate occurred by which the mammoths were destroyed and entombed *in situ*, northern Siberia was largely inhabited by these animals."—Sir R. I. Murchison's Address to the Royal Geographical Society, May 28, 1866.

bear abundance of drift to the south, and scatter both fossil remains and the remains of all living creatures over all continents and islands. Shells from the north are found 1,300 ft. high in Wales. Fragments of extinct animals of the pliocene epoch are entombed not only on the broad continents, but on the islands of the sea far away from their probable home. Old shells have been washed out of their graves and mixed with newer shells, "rendering doubtful," as Sir C. Lyell admits, "the evidence of shells in strata." All these last cited "facts," and with them the entire disappearance of the huge mammals of a recent age—puzzles, if not contradictions, to orthodox geologists—are fully accounted for by the universal deluge which our theory implies. To enter into details would expand this article beyond due limits; but there is one remarkable scene that must be brought distinctly under review. The Pampas is the name for a district perhaps twice or thrice as large as France, and described by Mr. Darwin as a vast deposit of mud in which are entombed mammiferous remains in wonderful abundance. One cause alone can explain its existence, namely, a deluge sufficiently vast to leave behind, as it rolled to the mouth of La Plata, that prodigious residuum of mud and animals which its mighty force had swept from the north. More than thirty years ago an expedition of scientific inquiry was sent to South America by the French Government. M. Alcide D'Orbigny was one of the explorers. His report, with its atlases and plates, forms eleven goodly quartos. Nothing he saw seems to have impressed him more deeply than the Pampas, which he confidently concludes to be the effect of a prodigious deluge just before the human era, and to have been caused by the upheaval of the Cordilleras, which, however, do not run far enough in the direction of the pole to account for the phenomena in question. A few sentences from this writer will show how decided were the opinions he formed:—

"I come now to the clayey deposit of the Pampas—*l'argile pam-péenne*—one of the most beautiful geological facts, and deserving of careful investigation. . . . I think the huge mammals of the Pampas are not in their birth-place, and that they have been borne thither not by flowing streams, but through a geological convulsion which destroyed them all at a stroke. . . . Imagine the complete repose of nature followed by one of the great convulsions of the globe, for example, the upheaval of the Cordilleras, and the immediate result would be the destruction of all the living creatures of that part of the world, and the vast clayey deposit—*dépôt argileux*—of the Pampas. . . . If it were not so, it would be hard to conceive of and explain

two important facts: the sudden and simultaneous annihilation of the huge terrestrial animals which inhabited the American continents, and the immense accumulation of Pampean mud. . . . The Pampean earth is the last deposit of great importance which preceded the existing epoch."*—*Voyage dans l'Amérique méridionale*, par Alcide D'Orbigny, vol. iii., pt. 3, pp. 81, 82, 255; pt. 4, p. 151.

We have written with profound admiration of the labours of geologists, and ardent gratitude for the fruits of those labours given to the world. Phillips and Miller and Murchison and Lyell and Darwin and Haughton, Sedgwick and his youthful coadjutor Barrett—alas! too soon taken from us, a martyr to science—and a host of others in England and elsewhere, have a claim on Christians which is not yet half understood. Astronomers have made us acquainted with the wonders of distant space, and opticians with the scarcely less astonishing facts of atomic life. Geologists have discovered, not by happy guesses but by hard toil, a new calendar of duration, incomplete at present, yet so sure in its principles and so vast in its sweep that, to human apprehension, the gulf between time and past eternity is partly bridged over, and the spirit of man brought into nearer fellowship with Him to whom "a thousand years are as one day." By the exploration of the dateless, yet measured, past, they have shown us the orderly building up of the strong foundations of the earth on which men now live and cities rest. Deciphering the mineral and fossilised hieroglyphics of the rocks, they have discovered and classified many races of creatures heretofore unknown, tracing the progress from invertebrate to vertebrate, and from reptiles to mammals. The triumphs of geologists are but beginning. Among their future conquests, one, and not the least, we believe will be the clearing away of the difficulty that has hitherto rested on the first lines of history which Christians cannot help believing, but have wholly failed to explain. From geology we expect evidence ever accumulating that the representation given in the first pages of the Bible of the pre-Adamic world and its reconstruction must be true. In short, we joyfully and confidently anticipate the not distant day when geology will be the beautiful and foremost handmaid of faith.

* "It is impossible to reflect on the changed state of the American continent without the deepest astonishment. . . . The mind at first is irresistibly hurried into the belief of some great catastrophe; but thus to destroy animals both large and small in Patagonia, &c., up to Behring's Straits, we must shake the entire framework of the globe."—*Darwin's Researches*, p. 173. We may surely reply, "The animals have been destroyed, therefore the entire frame-work of the globe has been shaken."

- ART. V.—1. *Twenty-ninth Annual Report of the Registrar-General of Births, Deaths, and Marriages in England*—(Abstracts of 1866). London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1868.
2. *Quarterly Return of the Marriages, Births, and Deaths Registered in the Divisions, Counties, and Districts of England*. By Authority of the Registrar-General. No. 80. January, 1869.

REGISTRATION in some form or other is the inevitable product of civilisation and organised government. The savage despot and his underlings make few pretensions to just action in distributing the public burdens. They take what they want, and their victim has no means of rectifying the injustice to which he is exposed; but as soon as any approach is made to a regular and constitutional government, the people must be numbered on a national or a local system. Thus the census was both a Greek and a Roman institution; introduced in the days of Solon by the former nation, and early in the history of the republic by the latter. But the registrations made at Athens, and in the Campus Martius, had for their sole ultimate objects the raising of supplies by taxation, the privileges of citizenship, and military service. Registration for scientific purposes was never dreamt of by the economists of classic times. It belongs entirely to our own day and generation, but its practical as well as its theoretical value is now so obvious, that it will probably never again be abandoned. Through its agency our statesmen and economists can count the pulses of the national life. They can, at once, detect hidden dangers, and seek to apply fitting remedies. Instead of legislating upon the basis of impressions and surmises, they have actual and reliable data on which to act. Hence we now have a chance of obtaining, what was previously impossible, such legal enactments as the national well-being requires. But further, the smallest continued neglect of duty by local communities is revealed to the world. If a district fails to attend to its drainage, and its water supply causes outbreaks of fever and cholera, the registrar's report soon records the neglect. If a parish doctor is careless about his duties as a vaccinator, and small-pox makes its appearance, the official record again proclaims his carelessness; and the powers that superintend his doings ask the

reasons for the epidemic evil. The result of this vigilance, combined with other causes, is an increase in the duration of the individual life. Though the reports are in many respects defective; though in the case of the more obscure diseases of internal organs, we have but a limited faith in the accuracy of the medical certificates—there is no reason to doubt their substantial correctness in the instance of the more serious epidemics, such as cholera, measles, typhus, or scarlatina. It is, in fact, amongst the very diseases which are the most preventible, that the registrations are the most trustworthy; and as these are what chiefly have a practical interest and bearing upon sanitary legislation, we may accept the tabulated reports of the Registrar-General as a safe guide in everything affecting the national hygiene.

The first fact that arrests our attention on reading these reports, is the steady and almost unvarying increase in the annual number of births. The population of the United Kingdom, including British subjects abroad connected with military, naval, and merchant services, and who, of course, though absent, still belong to the kingdom, has increased from 16,302,410 in 1801, to 30,763,648 in 1868; a fact in itself sufficiently startling to the croakers who are constantly predicting the coming decline of the empire. When we turn to the proportion which the births have to the deaths, we meet with the same encouraging report. In the year 1858, there were in England and Wales 655,481 births, and only 449,656 deaths, a condition of affairs which alone suffices to explain our previous statement. Of course, this steady, rapid increase of our population will be differently viewed according to the notions of each individual as to what constitutes the true well-being of the State. There can be no question that, as a rule, an increasing population must be regarded as a sign of prosperity; whilst a diminishing one tells the opposite tale. Yet the true value of such increase must depend upon the condition of the country, the amount of available land, and the mutual wants of the people. Where land is superabundant the increasing population can diffuse itself, as in America, with benefit both to the family and to the State, because they can raise from the land what is needful for their support, and have some supplies to meet State wants. Their progress beyond this point is influenced by a thousand conditions connected with the necessities of the people, the varied products of the countries, and the facilities afforded for the interchange of commodities. In a country like Great Britain, already densely populated, the question assumes a new aspect. No material increase

can be made to the available land, save by reclaiming bogs and moorlands. Hence, could the statesmen of the early years of George III. have foreseen that the population would be doubled in three-quarters of a century, the alarm which they actually felt as to how the multitude was to be fed would have increased to a feeling of despair. But, thanks to the combined results of free trade and of the invention of the steam-engine, there is no reason to fear for the future. Local redundancies of population will always exist from the changes in the seats of commerce and manufactures, and from the *vis inertiae* which prevents the masses from accommodating themselves quickly to such changes; but, by a gradual adjustment of the relations between the supply of labour and the demand for it, Great Britain will long be able to support an increasing population. Temporary checks to trade, such as have resulted from the cotton famine and the American war, will, from time to time, cause sudden plethoras, only to be relieved by the depleting process of prompt emigration. The necessity for this benefits the world at large; when judiciously carried out, emigration adds to the resources of the country to which the emigrants go, whilst it relieves the temporary pressure at home; but, like blood-letting to the human frame, its ultimate benefits to the mother country are but doubtful ones. In the year 1866, no fewer than 176,933 natives of the United Kingdom thus left our shores, bound chiefly to the United States, to Canada, and to Australia. Of these 61,263 were English; 12,766 were Scotch; and 102,904 were Irish.

It is curious to note the differences in the rate of increase in the population of the United Kingdom in the several decades, from the year 1801 up to the present time. It appears to have been the greatest in the decade ending in 1831, and the least in that ending in 1851.

The following table gives the increase for each decade:—

Ending 1811	...	...	...	...	2,230,112
" 1821	...	...	...	...	2,768,051
" 1831	...	...	...	...	3,123,015
" 1841	...	...	...	...	2,653,507
" 1851	...	...	...	...	686,939
" 1861	...	...	...	...	1,594,893

And if the increase during the present and two succeeding years continues in the same ratio as during the last seven, the addition at the close of 1871 will be fully two millions more. The immense spring which the trade of the country made after the close of the long war probably accounts for the great increase in the decade ending in 1831; but it is not

so easy to explain the diminution during that terminating in 1851. The numbers, which slightly exceed twenty-seven millions in 1842, failed to reach twenty-eight millions until 1846, after which year they again receded, and it was not until 1856 that this number was once more attained. Since that time the progress has been steady up to the present date. Some light may possibly be thrown upon the matter by noting the price of wheat in England during the period in question.

The following table shows its cost per quarter for each year:—

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1841	64	4	1854	72	5
1842	57	3	1855	74	8
1843	50	1	1856	69	2
1844	51	3	1857	56	5
1845	50	10	1858	44	3
1846	54	8	1859	44	3
1847	69	9	1860	53	3
1848	50	6	1861	55	4
1849	44	3	1862	55	5
1850	40	3	1863	44	8
1851	38	6	1864	40	2
1852	40	9	1865	43	10
1853	53	3	1866	49	11

Dividing these years into three periods, it appears that during the eight years of highest prices there were 804 marriages to each 100,000 of the population. During the nine years of intermediate prices there were 836, and during the nine years of lowest prices there were 850. Taking the mean of the years from 1842 to 1855 inclusive, the period just referred to as one of general check to the usual increase, we find that the average price of wheat was 53*s.* 5½*d.* per quarter; whilst in the eleven subsequent years, during which the increase resumed its steady progress, the mean price was only 44*s.* 3¾*d.*, facts sufficiently suggestive of the relationship between the staff of life and the national progress.

The study of this question brings out another curious result, not very flattering to the present generation of members of the medical profession. We find that the growth of the population has mainly resulted from an increase in the number of births, and not from a proportionate diminution in the death-rate. The deaths in every hundred thousand of the people during the decade ending with 1847 inclusive were 22.188, whilst those of the decade ending in 1866 were 22.553. But, at the same time, we must not forget, in justice to the medical practitioner, that a great part of this death-rate results from social and physical conditions over which he has no power. Our municipal and county governors have much to do ere

medical science can have fair play in bringing its resources into antagonism with disease.

But, though what we have just stated is quite correct in reference to the period spoken of, there is no doubt that the last two centuries have witnessed a steady increase in the duration of human life. This is clearly demonstrated by the various tables that have been constructed from time to time for the use of insurance offices, and from the records of tontines. This improvement in the longevity of our nation cannot be better shown than by placing side by side extracts from Mr. Findlayson's tables, one of which refers to the lives of the persons connected with King William's tontine, commenced in 1693; the other being the Friendly Society's table belonging to the period 1823-8. These two show the mean duration of human life at identical ages at these distant intervals, and both are calculated for the male sex only. Other tables, however, exhibit similar results in reference to females.

Age.	Mean duration of life.	
	King William's Tontine.	Friendly Society's Table.
20	29.3 years.	37.6 years.
30	26.3 "	30.9 "
40	21.7 "	24.6 "
50	16.9 "	18.7 "
60	11.6 "	13.3 "
70	7.2 "	8.6 "
80	4.9 "	4.8 "
90	2.0 "	2.4 "

These results are sufficiently pleasant—but they by no means represent all that may be done in this direction. The average mortality of the nation may be represented by the proportion of 2.224 to every 100 of the population.

Comparing county with county, we find that whilst the mean proportion per 1,000 for the ten years 1856-65 is in Westmoreland 1.809, Rutlandshire 1.889, and Lincolnshire 1.966; in Lancashire it is 2.597, in the West Riding of Yorkshire 2.441, and in Staffordshire 2.379. Turning to the towns, we discover that in 1866 the death-rate per 1,000 for Liverpool was 42.85; Manchester, 31.95; Leeds, 32.54; and Newcastle, 32.12; in London it was only 26.47; in Bristol, 24.91; and for Birmingham, 24.03. So long as such anomalies as these are revealed by the reports of the registrars, it behoves the communities whose names appear so unsatisfactorily on the lists, to bestir themselves in order to remove, as far as they can, the social stigma that rests upon them. We are aware that what the authorities, whether county or municipal,

can effect, has its limits. They can clear out and cleanse over-crowded dwellings, drain the streets, secure good water supplies, and in some measure regulate the construction of the houses so that the first principles of sanitary science shall not be violated.*

But they cannot compel mothers to suckle their own children. They would find it next to impossible to prevent such mothers from farming out their infants to paid nurses, who rear them with the bottle, in order that they may labour in the factory; and yet we believe this to be one of the plague-spots of the physical life of Lancashire, as well as of other manufacturing districts. The following table shows the proportions which the deaths during the first year of life bear to the total number of deaths in 1866 in some of the large towns of England; compared with what takes place in the rural districts of Wales:—

	Total Deaths.	Deaths under one year.
Manchester . . .	8,741	2,016
Birmingham . .	6,096	1,615
Liverpool . . .	12,825	2,610
Stockport . . .	2,568	642
Leeds	4,362	1,181
Bradford . . .	5,951	1,818

In these six towns one-fourth of the children born perish during the first year. Contrast this list with the following one of six towns in the rural districts of Wales:—

	Total Deaths.	Deaths under one year.
Cardigan . . .	345	30
Llandovery . .	272	40
Aberystwith . .	529	78
Bala	121	16
Gower	199	22
Tregaron . . .	185	18

Here we find the infantine mortality to be just one-half what is recorded in the previous table. The aggregate population of the above six places is 84,249, and the aggregate deaths 1,651, or a proportion of 19.5 in 1,000; the mean number of the deaths in the population of the six manufacturing towns is 27 in 1,000, or an increase of nearly 50 per cent. But whilst the proportion which the deaths during the first year

* It is a very rare thing to find a dwelling-house of the class tenanted by the working population in Manchester in which the *upper* sash of the bedroom-window is made to open. It is cheaper and easier to swing the lower sash alone with a pair of weights, and consequently the air in the upper two-thirds of the room is always more or less vitiated and stagnant. Surely this is an evil justifying the interference of the municipal authorities.

bear to the total number of deaths in the above Welsh districts is only about one-eighth of the whole, in the manufacturing towns it is one-fourth, which large increase is very partially accounted for by the supposition that the atmosphere of these places is more injurious to young infants than to adults. We can only look for the explanation in the temptations which the trade of these towns offers to mothers in the shape of lucrative employment. The result of this is neglect of their offspring, employment of paid nurses, artificial feeding, narcotics, and the terrible mortality to which we have called attention. This is a sad condition of affairs, but how it is to be remedied we confess ourselves unable to see. Checks are being put on female labour in various directions, but no force could be brought to bear upon mothers, compelling them to stay at home and nurse their own children, save the convictions of their own consciences and the commands of their husbands; and, from our knowledge of the social state of the operatives in most of the above towns, we fear that it will be long before the motive is sufficiently powerful to effect any reform.

In the last Quarterly Report, issued January 30th, 1869, the Registrar-General says:—

“The number of persons in ten acres in town districts was 37.70, in the country districts 2.74; thus the town districts were nearly fourteen times as densely peopled as the country districts; the mortality ranging from 2.415 for the towns to 1.898. The mortality rose with the density, but not in the same ratio; without the sanitary arrangements existing in towns it is probable the mortality would increase with the density in a much greater ratio; and evidently, if proper precautions were taken, the effects of crowding would be still less remarkable. The fourteen great cities and towns of the kingdom, peopled by 6,441,525 inhabitants, experienced a rate of mortality equal to 2.615; and this we know exceeds the rate in the least unhealthy districts in the kingdom by one-half, as there the mortality does not exceed 1.700 per cent., while the average mortality in the fourteen great towns was at the rate of 26 deaths in 1,000 living; it was 21 in Bristol, 21 in Birmingham, 25 in London, 29 in Liverpool, 31 in Manchester, 33 in Salford, 28 in Bradford, 32 in Leeds, 29 in Edinburgh, 33 in Glasgow. When will the north undertake the noble work of saving the lives of the people? Why should industrious, prosperous, and wealthy communities see their people perish year after year at these appalling rates, without trying some radical and effectual measures of reform? This is not a question of mere opinion, but of life and death; it is not a question of the day only, but of all time. Shall the town breeds of the north degenerate and die out, or improve and live? There appear to be disputes

as to the particular measures to be adopted. The water-supply is an excellent preliminary, but the sewers must follow. The refuse must day by day be removed from the dwellings, and this the householder cannot himself accomplish in large towns. It is municipal work."

We confess that this paragraph shows, as much as any we have ever read, how much more easy it is to measure and define an evil than to find a remedy for it. "There *appear* to be disputes as to the particular measures to be adopted," is a singularly innocent expression for a registrar publishing his eightieth quarterly report; since it is notoriously difficult to find any two writers who agree on this subject. There is a radical difference of opinion respecting first principles. We have physicians of high eminence who deny altogether the power of offensive odours to generate fever; and in support of the same view we have the high authority of Dr. Livingston, who stated, that when they were in some parts of Africa, on rivers reeking with offensive smells, he and his men were in excellent health, whilst in other regions, where to the eye and nose all appeared to be clean and salubrious, they were stricken with fever. The experience of the night-soil men in the service of the scavenging departments of large towns leads to the same conclusion. We do not, of course, intend to argue that fetid accumulations are wholesome or desirable, but we do contend that the primary basis of many of the arguments used by sanitary reformers is disputed by competent judges, who say, that no smell, however offensive, can generate a fever, or an attack of cholera; and until some explanation of the origin of the diseases can be discovered more definite than that which we now possess, we must of necessity work amidst doubt and uncertainty. Until these doubts are removed, we must not be too severe upon the executive authorities of our cities because they do not rush hastily upon ill-considered and costly experiments, or spend hundreds of thousands of pounds upon speculative hobbies, which may lead to no beneficial result. One of the most serious of infantile diseases is scarlatina. In the years 1861-66 inclusive, 113,471 died of this disease alone, exclusive of deaths from diphtheria and malignant sore throat (*cynanche maligna*). Scarlatina is a disease which is as amenable to medical aid as any other, provided the necessary conditions are available. There should be a liberal supply of champagne, fresh air, careful nursing, isolation from the unaffected, a confinement to bed of at least three weeks, and a confinement to the house, if not to one room, of at least three weeks more. When these precautions are taken, very few either die

from the primary attack, or suffer from the secondary dropsies which are often more fatal even than the fever itself. But how little of all this can be done by the municipal authorities. The fever breaks out in large families crowded beneath a small roof.* It makes considerable progress, and diffuses its poison before it is seen by any competent medical man. The conditions which we have enumerated as necessary to recovery are all equally out of the reach of the poor. The seclusion of the convalescent from draughts, for instance, so as to guard against the secondary desquamative dropsy following the fever, is absolutely impossible. This is one case amongst many others in which nothing less than the intelligence and financial resources possessed by the middle and upper classes would help the poor sufferers; and how can municipal boards provide these? It is our settled conviction that the *large towns*. and cities will have a high rate of mortality when sanitary reform has done its utmost. Both Manchester and Glasgow have magnificent water-works, so that the inhabitants are supplied with the purest water. The sewerage and cleansing of the Manchester streets are exceedingly well managed. They, as well as the water supply, are superior to those of London, and yet the latter has a lower rate of mortality than the former. We believe that the greatest evils connected with large cities spring out of the crowding of the population and their poverty, whether inevitable or the result of improvidence; and we do not see how these are to be remedied. Lodging-houses *may* be put under the surveillance of the police, but the extent to which the latter can interfere with private dwellings is and must be very limited. So long as there are poor people with large families, there must be cheap dwellings wherein they may live, and cheap abodes in large towns mean closely packed ones. But this over-crowding is the cause of much of the high mortality that is to be deprecated, and which, we fear, will long continue to exist.

Another injurious agent in large cities, and especially in manufacturing ones, is the smoke poured out from the huge chimneys of factories, &c.; but here again we believe a great fallacy misleads the sanitary reformers; they seem to think that so long as these "obelisks of brick," as Lord Brougham once designated them, are not unfurling black "smoky pennons," they are doing little mischief. So far as vegetation

* One of the Rochdale registrars reports, speaking of scarlatina, the fatal cases arise generally where there is over-crowding; many families, seven or eight in number, have only one bedroom, fifteen feet square.

is concerned, there may be *some* truth in this idea, because the sooty particles of unburnt coal, which constitute the chief part of such dark outpourings, block up the pores of the leaves of plants, and even by the mechanical effects act mischievously upon the vigorous growth of the plant. But we question whether these same particles do much harm to the people. They are unpleasant enough in many ways, but we suspect that the elements which are really injurious to animal life reside as abundantly in the thin and almost invisible curl which is so grateful to nuisance inspectors, as in the blackest fuliginous torrent that ever deluged a city. These truly injurious elements are the gaseous products of combustion, and these exist in the same quantity whether the smoke is "consumed" or not. They are incapable of being consumed. Various combinations of hydrogen, carbon, and sulphur pollute the atmosphere in proportions dependent upon the amount and quality of the coal burnt; and when we imagine that we have got rid of these invisible poisons, because we have burnt the black smoke, we are but imitating the ostrich, which is said to hide its head and imagine that it is not seen. We would not have our readers suppose that we are opposed to what is called smoke-consumption. We think it a very desirable thing. By making the atmosphere clearer, it *indirectly* tends to health, by letting in light and warmth upon the people, and makes town-life a more cheery thing. But this is only a small part of what the sanitary reformers have in view, when they demand that the manufacturers should be compelled "to consume their own smoke."

Another equally difficult problem to solve is that with which Sir William Dennison and his fellow-commissioners, Dr. Frankland and Mr. Morton, are now endeavouring to deal—namely, the pollution of rivers. Rivers are, and have ever been, the great natural drains of the earth, and so long as the population was scanty and no huge manufactories existed to pour into them their polluting refuse, they served for the artificial drainage of the populated districts without the fish in them being destroyed, or their being offensive to the people that dwell on their banks. But what many of them are now need not be told. The fish are gone, and the effluvia which emanate from them are, to say the least, eminently disagreeable, even if they are not positively hurtful. The unpleasantness of the existing state of things is a sufficient reason for seeking to provide a remedy, but here begins the difficulty. The refuse of towns is a mixed material, partly soluble and partly insoluble. Both these elements require to be removed far away from the

densely populated areas—but the most efficient and at the same time least costly mode of doing this is yet to be ascertained. Of course the cheapest method is to allow the refuse to go into the rivers and be carried away by them into the ocean, where it ceases to be mischievous or offensive. But to this there are, at least, two objections: First, there is much which the rivers of our comparatively level country refuse to remove. If we lived amidst Alpine torrents, this difficulty would not be encountered; but as our longer rivers, such as the Ouse and the Trent, have but a very small fall, and consequently a slow motion, the solid refuse—ashes, cinders, etc., would soon fill up their beds instead of being carried away. Hence they must be removed by other means. So long as the ancient system which prevailed prior to the wide-spread use of water-closets continued in operation, the materials were worth carting away to the neighbouring agricultural districts to be laid upon the land; but mere cinders and ashes make poor manure, whilst the enriching elements are now carried down our drains into the nearest streams, where they are worse than useless. The problem to be solved is how to re-combine these severed elements, so that the one shall give to the other such value as will make the removal of both at least pay the expenses, even if no profit can be obtained. For town councils to rush upon huge operations in the present state of the question would be madness. It is *sub judice*, and we shall probably learn before long the most efficient method of accomplishing the desired end. But if the Registrar-General had to pay the bill, we think he would not be so ready to fling sarcasms at "industrious, prosperous, and wealthy communities," because they do not see eye to eye with him; we repeat that we desire the attainment of the proposed ends as much as he does—but engineering operations on the large scale that will some day be inevitable must only be undertaken after a most careful ventilation of the whole subject. Experiments of an instructive kind have already been made in several towns; these must be continued and multiplied. We so far agree with the Registrar-General as to deem every large town or city culpable if it is resting content with things as they are. *Quia non movere* may be an excellent maxim in some cases, but it is a grave fault here. Let every community, therefore, seek to do its duty by persevering in some line of *practical* experimental inquiry. Do not let us be satisfied with merely talking, or writing letters to newspapers, but let official experiments be conducted at the public expense. Whilst earth-closets are tried in one small district favourable for the

experiment, let sewers, leading to storage grounds, and supplied with proper disinfectants and ventilating shafts, be attempted in another—but in every case there should be kept most accurate records, both of the cost of the experiment and of the mortality of the districts so experimented upon. Such operations never will or can be conducted by individuals; they neither have the necessary financial resources nor power to force obedience to their plans. Municipal bodies and boards of health have or can have both—and until they avail themselves of them they will not do their duty to those whose interests they represent; we look to such bodies to lead public opinion—not to be led by it. Of course they must be prepared for some opposition from the ignorant or prejudiced of their municipal constituents. Ratepayers' associations are apt to be social misers, looking only at the financial branch of the question, and ignoring the duties for which municipal boards are called into existence. So long as the rates are kept low, there are too many who would be content to grovel amidst filth and disease. But whilst it is the duty of administering bodies to exercise all possible economy, consistent with the objects for which they were appointed, they must remember that there is a higher economy than that of money, and that to save lives is a more important mission than to save pockets.

All inquiries of the class referred to have to encounter opposition on grounds more or less frivolous; but we occasionally hear an objection taken to sanitary reform that bears a sufficiently specious aspect to merit a moment's attention. It is sometimes said that by these sanitary reforms we succeed in preserving the lives of sickly and weak children, who only live to perpetuate a race as sickly as themselves; and that in this way we are lowering the standard of physical humanity, and promoting the degeneration of the race.

We here encounter one of the phases of full-blown Darwinism which is perfectly true in reference to nature as a whole. The practical florist sows his seeds; most of them germinate and apparently start life on equal terms, but by-and-by some of them develop rapidly, and dominate over the rest, many of which now cease to grow, dwindle for a time, and then perish. In this process we witness a form of what Darwin terms natural selection, and Herbert Spencer appropriately designates "the survival of the fittest." Of course, we may presume that the dominant plants either possessed some inherent advantage over the rest, or that they were more favourably circumstanced. The strong and healthy are pre-

served, the weakly and defective ones perish. There is no doubt, that what takes place amongst the florists' seeds also occurs in every department of animal and vegetable life, including the human race. Savages purposely expose their sickly children to perish, and among the lowest classes nearer home neglect accomplishes the same end. But we doubt altogether whether society obtains any physical advantage through this process. And here we may again employ the floral illustration. If the cultivator takes out of his seedpans the weakly individuals which would otherwise die, and plants them out under favourable conditions, the probable result will be that when the blooming season arrives, the protected examples will prove fully equal in robustness and beauty to their more vigorous nursery companions, although without such treatment they would have been lost. In the field and forest, away from man's protecting hand, plants and animals are left to struggle for life in obedience to merely physical laws. There is no intervention of an intelligent will, whereby those laws can be set aside by the instrumentality of other laws that neutralise them. But in the case of humanity the conditions are different. A new factor is introduced into the problem, which changes its entire nature. Not only do moral considerations demand that life should be preserved at every cost, but we are convinced that physical life gains rather than loses by the process. Here and there melancholy examples present themselves in which a sickly race is perpetuated, but in a far greater number of instances the sickly babe may be nursed and fostered until it becomes the strong man, whilst those originally strong are made yet stronger by the same agencies. Thus "natural selection" becomes set aside through intervention of an intelligent will; the world is left in possession of a race quite as strong as, and *much more numerous* than, would have been the case had the conflict of individuals been solely left to the undisturbed operation of physical laws. Here we again learn the truth which the Duke of Argyle has so fairly developed in his recent writings, viz., that though the reign of law is, and must be, supreme, the operations of physical laws can be neutralised by the intervention of will. In the case before us such an intervention is a part of our moral duty, and we are thus brought back to the conclusion that we must at all costs seek to preserve human life. History is said to be continually reproducing itself, and our subject presents an example of the fact. The fear that the human race is undergoing physical degeneration is no new one; it existed in Rome nearly 2,000 years ago. Pliny affirmed, that "in

the human race, the stature is almost daily becoming less and less, and that sons are rarely taller than their parents;" yet a thousand years earlier Homer uttered a similar plaint; whilst Virgil, Juvenal, Sallust, and Horace alike echo the same sentiment. But there are no reasons for believing in the truth of the lament, either in classic times or now. Some have supposed that in the days of Solon and his successors, the attention paid to gymnastic exercises, not only as constituting a part, but one of the most essential branches, of education, acted upon the physical frames of the young in a way that finds no parallel in modern times, when the brain appears to receive more culture than the muscles. We believe this to be altogether untrue. The sports of the Gymnasium soon degenerated into a one-sided training of semi-professional athletes which did little for the physical frames of the masses of the people. The ball-play of the Roman Sphæristerium was no better as an exercise than that of the modern fives-court. It is our firm belief that the boasted gymnastics of both Greece and Rome were immeasurably inferior to the modern cricket, boating, and sports of the field, if for no other reason than that they were more limited to a privileged class. Let anyone living in our large cities visit, on a summer's evening, one of the waste places common at the outskirts where the town is invading the country, and watch the swarms of ragged urchins engaged as enthusiastically with their bat and ball, as if they were contending for an Olympic prize; they will there see as fine a method of physical training as any of which antiquity can boast, with the additional advantage in favour of the modern sport, that whilst it attracts the heir of the peerage and of the baronetcy to "Lords," it draws the lowest "gamins" from their miserable dwellings into spaces where they at once obtain pure air and vigorous exercise. We believe that a more complete provision for all such sports near our crowded cities will prove as valuable as any of our sanitary agents. We are doing something in this direction in our "parks" for the people; but we are in danger of keeping these too trim for their true purpose; unless very large portions of them are set aside for such purposes as we have named, their use as sanitary gymnasiums will be limited. Parterres and well-kept gravel walks suit the sobriety of middle age; but what we want is more provision for exercising the energies of youth at the time when the physical constitution is receiving its permanent character. At present the lads do much for themselves. It yet remains to be seen what society will do for them.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Captive Missionary: being an Account of the Country and People of Abyssinia. Embracing a Narrative of King Theodore's Life, and his Treatment of Political and Religious Missions.* By the Rev. HENRY A. STERN, Author of "Wanderings among the Falashas." London: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.
2. *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia; with Notices of the Countries traversed from Massowah, through the Soodan, the Amhâra, and back to Annesley Bay from Magdala.* By HORMUZD RASSAM, F.R.G.S., First Assistant Political Resident at Aden, in Charge of the Mission. In Two Volumes. London: John Murray.
3. *A History of the Abyssinian Expedition.* By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F.S.A. With a Chapter containing an Account of the Mission and Captivity of Mr. Rassam and his Companions. By LIEUTENANT W. F. PRIDEAUX, Bombay Staff Corps. London: Macmillan and Co.
4. *The Abyssinian Expedition and the Life and Reign of King Theodore. With One Hundred Illustrations, engraved from Original Sketches by the Special Artists and Correspondents of the Illustrated London News, and reprinted from that Journal.* The History by ROBERT ACTON.

EIGHTEEN months ago our pages contained a brief history of Abyssinia, and of the causes which had led to the British invasion of that country. Just at that time Sir Robert (now Lord) Napier had landed in Annesley Bay, and assumed the command of the Expedition. The main outlines of the story of its progress and successful result are tolerably familiar to our readers. But, as was sure to be the case, the liberated captives have wished to tell the story of their wrongs and sufferings; and the unique and striking features of the march of the army of relief have been graphically sketched both by pen and pencil. The books named at the head of our present paper, together with Dr. Blanc's narrative of captivity, and one or two others, constitute the literature of this subject. We propose to devote some pages to the work of reviewing these volumes, and shall attempt to present some personal details illustrative of the life of our countrymen

while under bondage, and of the course of the army of deliverance during its toilsome ascent into the Abyssinian highlands, and the brief but triumphant campaign which followed.

The captives may be conveniently classified under two heads; namely, those whose imprisonment led to the important mission of Mr. Rassam, with a view to procure their freedom by negotiation; and Mr. Rassam and his two companions, whose outrageous treatment, by the treacherous and bloody Theodore, was the immediate occasion of the Abyssinian Expedition. The volumes before us by no means agree in their accounts of the causes of Theodore's anger against Captain Cameron, and the missionaries Stern and Rosenthal. Mr. Rassam quotes the king's version of the business as given on repeated occasions. If Theodore spoke the truth, it is pretty clear that his anger against Stern arose in the first instance from discovering that the missionary, in his *Wanderings amongst the Falashas*, had spoken contemptuously of the king's origin, and very disparagingly of his personal character. But that work was published in English, and the obnoxious passage could scarcely have been brought to Theodore's knowledge except by European treachery. It is unmistakably insinuated, though, perhaps, not broadly affirmed, that the traitor was the Frenchman, M. Bardel, of whose unsuccessful mission to the French Emperor we previously spoke, and whose exaggerated and untrue account of his reception at the French Court had so fatal an effect on the temper and character of the Abyssinian potentate. If so, the poor Frenchman did not succeed in keeping a perfectly whole skin, but had presently to endure his share of the bondage and sufferings of his victims. It was most unfortunate for Mr. Stern, that on attempting to leave the country he should unintentionally and unexpectedly cut right across the line of the king's march, and so be compulsorily brought into the tyrant's presence, just after the latter had been told of the freedoms taken with him by the missionary. What had most offended him was the statement that, on the mother's side, he was of low origin, she having been "a vendor of kosso, a native anthelmintic." Mr. Stern repeats in his volume the statement as to her occupation; and it is certain that the monarch was repeatedly taunted on account of it by his numerous rivals. But Mr. Rassam comments as follows upon the accusation:—

"Mr. Stern's statement is undoubtedly credited by different people in the country; nevertheless, I never met with a single individual

who had been an eye-witness of the fact. On the other hand, adequate proof was afforded me that she was, by right of birth, a princess, a daughter of the Ras of Amhara-Seint, a district situated between Gojjam and the Wello-Gallas, whose family was in good circumstances when I was in Abyssinia. In all probability, the person mistaken for the mother of Theodore was the female to whose care he was committed in infancy, it being a prevailing custom in the country for children of the wealthy to be put out to nurse. In general, the children thus nurtured grow up more attached to their foster-mothers than to their natural parents. Dajaj Alamayo, the legitimate son of King Theodore, now in England, is an instance in point. When on the decease of their mistress I had to dismiss her numerous attendants, the lad cried on parting with his nurse, though he did not shed a tear on the death of his mother."—*Rassam*, vol. i. pp. 278, 279.

It is not very surprising that, when the reputed author of this disparaging statement came to pay his compliments, he found the kingly savage in a most furious passion—especially as his majesty had but just risen from a grand royal debauch of raw beef and hydromel. It may be as well to let our author describe what befel him in his own way:—

"The last jar of hydromel had at last, as a royal page, *en passant*, assured me, been quaffed, the last reeking joint had been devoured, the last batch of rioters had at last vanished, when the folds of the tent were thrown aside, and his majesty, surrounded by half-a-dozen officers and several pages, strutted out into the open air. My companions quickly prostrated themselves into the dust; whilst I, without imitating their servile obeisance, made a humble and deferential bow. 'Come nearer,' shouted the attendants. I obeyed, and advanced a few steps. 'Still nearer,' reiterated several stentorian voices. I complied, and made another forward movement. 'What do you want?' sharply demanded the flushed and drink-excited Negroes. 'I saw your majesty's tent,' was the response, 'and came hither to offer my humble salutations and respects to your majesty.' 'Where are you going?' 'I am, with your majesty's sanction, about to proceed to Massorah.' 'And why did you come to Abyssinia?' 'A desire to circulate the Word of God among your majesty's subjects prompted the enterprise,' I rejoined. 'Can you make cannons?' 'No,' was the reply. 'You lie,' was the laconic retort; and then turning with a withering glance towards Negusee, one of my companions, and only accompanying him down to Adowa, whither I am bound to see my family.' 'You vile carcase! You base dog! You rotten donkey! You dare to bandy words with your king? Down with the villain, and *bemouti* (by my death) beat him till there is not a breath in

his worthless carcase.' The order was promptly obeyed, and the poor inoffensive man, without a struggle, ejaculation, or groan, was dashed on the ground, where, amid the shouts of the savage monarch, that the executioners should vigorously ply their sticks, the animated and robust frame was, in less than a minute, a torn and mangled corpse. 'There's another man yonder,' vociferated the savage king, 'kill him also.' The poor fellow, who stood at a considerable distance, was immediately dragged to the side of his motionless companion, and without having breathed a word or a syllable that could possibly have irritated the sanguinary tyrant, doomed to share the same unhappy fate. I was amazed, bewildered, and surprised. In my agitation I might, unconsciously, have put my hand or finger to my lips. This the cruel tyrant construed into an act of defiance, and, without one warning or reproof, he rushed upon me with a drawn pistol, like a lion baulked of his prey. For an instant I saw the glittering weapon sparkling in the rays of the sinking sun, and then, as if checked in his fell design by an invisible power, it disappeared again in the case suspended round his waist. 'Knock him down! Brain him! Kill him!' were the words which rang appallingly in my ear. In the twinkle of an eye I was stripped, on the ground, and insensible. Stunned, unconscious, and almost lifeless, with the blood oozing out of scores of gashes, I was dragged into the camp, not, as my guards were commanded, to bind me in fetters, but as they thought, and I heard it from their own lips, to bury me."—*Stern*, pp. 51—53.

The victim of this outrageous cruelty was, of course, horribly bruised, torn, and mangled; but the tyrant's rage was hardly at all abated. While Stern's wounds were yet open and bleeding, and every muscle of his body was palpitating and quivering with pain, a royal order condemned him to be chained hand and foot. Even the executioners of this mandate were moved to pity, and performed their dreadful task with a reluctance and a tenderness which showed them to be far in advance of their master. The next day the sufferer was ordered into the royal presence, and though unable to move without assistance, was indulged with plenty of royal Billingsgate, was again manacled, and chained to an "unwashed, uncombed, and unclean companion." His luggage was seized, his books and papers subjected to a rigorous examination, and on one pretext or other his captivity was prolonged from week to week, its horrible monotony being varied now and again by revolting tortures. We have no wish to go through the sickening details; but one method of torture deserves to be described in the sufferer's own words. He says:—

"Ere I could finish a sentence, I was blinded with buffets; whilst, at the same time, several fellows violently seized me by the hand, and

began to twist around my arms hard coarse ropes, formed of the fibres of the doloussa tree. Rosenthal, simultaneously with myself, experienced a similar treatment. His poor wife, thinking that our last moments had come, distractedly ran into the arms of Captain Cameron. The latter, who also believed that all were about to be butchered, called out to me, 'Stern, we shall soon be in heaven!' This exclamation the savage king quickly interpreted into an exhortation that I should not compromise the prelate; and, as if glad of a pretext, Mrs. Rosenthal, under a shower of blows, was driven with her babe into our tent, and then into her own, whilst all the other prisoners, with the exception of Mr. Kerans, who was suffering from a dreaded disease, were thrown on the ground, and pinioned.

"Generally, criminals under torture are only tied around the upper part of the arm, but the white miscreants were deemed malefactors unworthy of such leniency. From the shoulder down to the wrists the cords were drawn fiendishly tight around the unresisting limbs. This being still regarded as insufficient, the swollen throbbing hands were bound together behind the back, and then other ropes were fastened across the chest, and that too with a force that made me gasp for breath. Writhing and quivering in every nerve, we lay in agony on the hard bare ground. Some prayed; others groaned; here one, in excruciating torments, rolled about; there another, in desperate frenzy, knocked his reclining head on a loose stone, as if determined to end by suicide his career of suffering. The crescent moon, shining through a white canopy of clouds; the stillness of the guards, broken by the howling of savage dogs as they careered in quest of prey through the camp; and the moans and sighs of the tortured, formed a scene that beggars language to describe. His majesty immediately on the application of the ropes quitted the spot, and repaired to his tent. Samuel, his face concealed under a black hood, every few minutes made his appearance, and inquired whether I would confess, and, on not receiving a satisfactory reply, whispered to the guards, 'Give him another rope round the chest.' Three times he repeated his visits, and three times a couple of soldiers jumped on me, and with ardent delight, as if they felt pleasure in torturing a white man, executed the royal command. To contract the back ligaments, the executioners poured a profusion of cold water down our insensible backs."—*Stern*, pp. 153, 154.

The object of this frightful torture was to elicit from the sufferer an accusation against the Abyssinian bishop, with whom Stern had been friendly, and whom Theodore suspected to have originated the story of his own low origin. The torture was repeated and aggravated afterwards till one wonders how nature did not give way. We have presented these few details, first, because until this volume was published there were no means of duly appreciating the fiendish nature of the Abyssinian monarch: and, secondly, because Mr. Stern has

had but scant justice done to him in literary circles. Something of this is due, we presume, to the affected and turgid style in which much of the book is written. There is too much of the appearance of sensationalism, too laboured an attempt to produce an effect, in many of our author's pages. The language in which he speaks of his meditations and feelings during the long night of his captivity is, frequently, more unctuous than suits our modern taste. Now and then, he seems to assume—or may plainly be accused of assuming—too lofty a religious superiority to his companions in trouble. Yet, on the other hand, he expresses himself regarding his cruel and unscrupulous oppressor not certainly in the mildest and most relenting terms which might have been chosen. These defects have laid him fairly open to animadversion, and have caused a good many readers to lay down his book with disgust. But in some quarters he has been assailed with unworthy and ungenerous abuse. There are critics whose instinct impels them to put the very worst construction on the sayings and doings of Christian missionaries. The school which was the other day so characteristically represented in the House of Lords by the Duke of Somerset, seldom sees anything to admire or approve in the doings of “the saints.” Yet we were hardly prepared to read, in a journal of high literary character, edited by a gentleman of large experience, and expansive sympathies, an unfeeling and sneering critique upon Mr. Stern's account of his sufferings. The writer more than hints that, if he did not richly deserve his thrashing and subsequent torments, he had little right to complain of them. He blames him, not only for the alleged imprudence of his printed reflections on the king's origin and character, but for his want of subservience in not wallowing and creeping in the dust before the tyrant, and especially for the insolent and defiant act of biting his thumb, when his companions and attendants were beaten to death before his face! We do not pretend to say whether it would have been better for poor Mr. Stern to grovel like a worm before the royal brute; but we suspect even the cool and flippant critic would have thought it a hard lot had he been in the missionary's place. As to the biting of his thumb, surely the poor fellow must have been either more or less than man if he could have witnessed the deliberate and cruel murder of his own attendants—perpetrated in mere drunken wantonness—without showing any sign of astonishment or sympathy. It is easy for a gentleman at his ease to criticise and censure a fellow-creature placed in such circumstances; but we confess we should hardly admire

him if we thought he could himself assume the self-command for the want of which he presumes to blame Mr. Stern. It is a little too much to require that a civilised and Christian man should look with unmoved face and mien upon the horrible brutality which the missionary was doomed to witness; and we envy not the mind or heart of the reviewer who can read the story of the wretched tyrant's revenge, and have little more to say for the mangled and writhing victim, than that it "served him right."

We shall not recur to Mr. Stern's volume, as Mr. Rassam's book is the proper authority for what took place after the arrival of the British mission; but it may relieve the horror of the revolting details above given to quote one of the few amusing incidents which occurred to cheer the gloom and tedium of the long imprisonment. During their sojourn at Magdala, the captives were annoyed by the regular and wholesale pillaging of their bread.

"We complained to the guards," says Mr. Stern, "but as prisoners in Abyssinia are without the pale of the law, they merely rejoined, 'We have to watch your person and not your bread.' Determined to detect the thief, Mrs. Rosenthal baked a loaf with a few grains of tartar emetic in it—enough to make the offender sick, without doing him any actual harm. As usual, early in the morning the bread-basket was emptied. We went to the chief gaoler, and related to him our mishap. 'You know the thief?' was the reply. 'Yes, we suspect him.' More considerate than his subordinates, he ordered the culprit to be brought before him. The offender, who felt not the effects of a guilty conscience, but of a powerful medicine, in a whining tone denied the charge. 'Take care,' was the reminder, 'that you do not enhance the sin of theft by adding to it the guilt of lying.' 'I am innocent,' was the plaintive rejoinder. The fear of detection, blended with the energetic action of the emetic, rendered concealment beyond the reach of possibility. He grinned, spat, made comically-wry faces, and tried by all kinds of gestures and contortions to suppress a nausea for which he could not account. Unable to restrain any longer the internal commotion which shook his frame, he cried out, 'If I am to die, let me die with the truth on my lips;' but ere the confession could find utterance, he lay writhing on the ground in the wholesome tortures of the emetic. The poor fellow, who imagined that every convulsive start would be his final struggle, with vows and supplications invoked saints and martyrs to carry him through the terrible conflict. Old Lik Maquas Hailu, the second chief gaoler, who knew the trick, requested Mrs. Rosenthal to give him an antidote. 'This,' he added, 'will lead everyone to suppose that you can communicate sickness and health, and thus your bread will never again be touched.' A few cups of water, and the assur-

ance that he would live and not die, reanimated the penitent thief, and henceforth our larder was inviolate."—*Stern*, pp. 225, 226.

The king's quarrel with Mr. Cameron often formed the topic of conversation between his majesty and Mr. Rassam. At their very first interview the king ascribed "the existing complications between himself and the British Government" to that gentleman's conduct. Theodore had written to the Queen of England, and had given the letter to Captain Cameron, who was to take it to Massowah, and in due time to return with the reply. Instead of doing so, it appears that Cameron halted, and turned off for Bogos and Casala, near the Egyptian territory, and sent on the letter to Massowah by an Abyssinian. One Ingädä Wark, who had been a servant of Captain Cameron's, and "who hated his master intensely, because he considered himself wronged, not having been paid his proper wages," informed Theodore that one of Cameron's Abyssinian servants had been made to imitate the war-dance of the king's troops, for the amusement of the Turkish authorities; that the latter laughed at his majesty, and said sneeringly to the Abyssinians, "Is that the way the soldiers of the great king fight?" Mr. Rassam believes this man to have been "at the bottom of all the misunderstanding which existed between the king and the European captives." If half that is said afterwards about him be true, he was certainly a consummate scamp and traitor. He received a traitor's appropriate doom, being killed by the king, along with 197 others, in cold blood. Unfortunately, his untimely death prevented that communication between Mr. Rassam and himself, which would probably have cleared up what must, we fear, remain a mystery, the real origin of the king's displeasure. In a second interview, Theodore reverted to his grievance against Mr. Cameron, saying that, on his first arrival at his court—

"He had received him with great pomp for the sake of his friend, the Queen of England, and had treated him with great kindness and hospitality during his stay in Abyssinia; that he had been told that the Queen of England hated the Turks and liked Abyssinia and its sovereign; he had also heard that the best way to cultivate the friendship of a European Power was by sending an embassy to them, and as he had no ships in the Red Sea, and the Turks on the way were his enemies, he had written to ask the Queen for a vessel to convey his agent, and to grant him safe conduct through Egypt; that he had given the letter to Mr. Cameron, and had asked him to take it down to the coast and to bring up an answer himself; that he had provided him with the necessary funds for the road, and had ordered

all the chiefs of the different provinces between Gondar and Massowah to supply him and his followers with food, and to treat him with respect and honour; that, instead of attending to his request, Mr. Cameron had gone to amuse himself with the Turks; that, after a long absence, Mr. Cameron, to his surprise, returned to Gondar without an answer; that he had said nothing at the time, but had allowed Mr. Cameron to remain peacefully in the country; that six months after, Mr. Cameron had sent him a letter, which he said he had received from his Government, and demanded his dismissal forthwith; that on hearing this he had sent to ask him why he had returned to Abyssinia, if he wished to be at Massowah. 'When I found,' continued his majesty, 'I could not get a satisfactory answer to that question, I sent and told him that, by the power of God, you shall be detained in prison until I find out whether you are really the servant of the Queen or not.'—*Rassam*, vol. i. pp. 267, 268.

Theodore seems to have steadily adhered to this version of his case against Mr. Cameron. Mr. Rassam does not commit himself to the acceptance of it, though he indirectly inclines that way; and a recent reviewer does not hesitate, chiefly on the ground of these statements, to lay the responsibility of the "Abyssinian difficulty" on Mr. Cameron's shoulders. This gentleman naturally resents so serious an imputation; and Mr. Markham gives a view of the case which at any rate deserves serious and candid consideration. His object is to throw the blame on the Foreign Office which was at that time under the control of Earl Russell. Of Mr. Cameron's *détour* to Casala—for which the Office was certainly not in any direct way responsible, he says:—

"On his way to the coast, Captain Cameron, who was accompanied by a *baldaraba* (or 'introducer'), named Ayto Samuel, received intelligence which led him to proceed to a district called Bogos, instead of going straight back to Massowah. Bogos is a small Abyssinian province inhabited by Christians, at the extreme north-east corner of the table-land, and nearly surrounded by Egyptian territory. The black Shankelas, and other tribes in the lowlands, under Egyptian rule, had been in the habit of making raids into Bogos, driving off sheep and cattle, burning villages, and stealing women and children to be sold as slaves. A Roman Catholic missionary, named Stella, had long lived at Keren, in Bogos, and had done what he could, by representation and protests, to protect his unfortunate flock. Consul Cameron also found that the Christians of Bogos had been under the special protection of England during the time of his predecessor, and that intercession with the Egyptian Government had been made in their favour. He, therefore, considered it to be his duty to proceed to Bogos, when he heard that fresh inroads were threatened. Unfortunately, he forgot that the first duty of a modern British

consul is not to protect oppressed Christians, but to keep everything quiet, and to encourage trade. His conduct would make it look as if he thought himself another Ambassador Lockhart, and that Thurloe and Milton were at the Foreign Office; a very fallacious dream indeed, from which he was soon to be awakened.

"On the contrary, Earl Russell was at the Foreign Office, and his policy was the direct opposite of that of the great man who employed Thurloe and Milton. Instead of protecting Abyssinia from the Turks, it seemed to him a preferable course to withdraw as much as possible from Abyssinian alliances. His policy was founded entirely on the desire to promote trade, and he trusted that interference on behalf of a Christian country, as such, would never be the policy of the British Government!"—*Markham*, pp. 77, 78.

Of course, this is meant to be hard on Lord Russell, though the satire is rather dim; but it does not relieve the consul from the charge of great indiscretion in not fulfilling personally the mission he had undertaken at Theodore's request, and in sending the royal letter by one of his Abyssinian servants to Massowah. The king undoubtedly had just ground of quarrel with Mr. Cameron; and if his anger were aggravated by the subsequent action of the Foreign Office, why, Mr. Cameron was in his power and could be imprisoned. But we cannot altogether agree with the following passage, in which that gentleman appears as the mere scapegoat, bearing the sins of his English masters:—

"It does not appear that the conduct of Consul Cameron, in the course of these transactions, is open to censure. His first visit to King Theodore, to present the letter and presents, was undertaken in obedience to distinct orders from the Foreign Office. His journey to Bogos was made with a view to intervening in favour of oppressed Christians who had already received protection from English officials; and his further journeys to Kasala and Matamma were undertaken partly with reference to the affairs of Bogos, and partly in obedience to orders from the Foreign Office, that he should furnish full information respecting the commerce of those parts. His return to Abyssinia, setting aside the fact that the state of his health necessitated that return, would appear to have been perfectly right and proper, in order that he might be on the spot when the reply of the English Government arrived respecting the proposed embassy. That reply never came, but in its place a brief despatch arrived, and was seen by King Theodore, ordering the consul not to meddle in the affairs of Abyssinia, and to return at once to Massowah. Thus the main cause of the imprisonment of the English consul was the omission to take any notice of Theodore's letter; and it is as ungenerous as it is erroneous to attempt to throw any portion of the blame on the unfortunate victim of this omission. The discourteous

omission to answer the letter was a perfectly just reason for Theodore's anger, and there can be no doubt that, if he had received a civil reply, which would have had the effect of explaining away Cameron's visit to the Turks, there would never have been any reason for spending several millions on an Abyssinian expedition."—*Markham*, pp. 82, 83.

Mr. Acton argues to the same effect, and blames Lord Russell almost exclusively; but it seems to us very unfair to throw the responsibility of Mr. Cameron's quixotic eccentricities in any degree upon the Foreign Office. Mr. Acton himself admits that his fault was *trop de zèle*. Had he attended to one thing at a time, and simply discharged the trust which he had accepted from the king, he at any rate must have escaped many of his sufferings. But he placed himself in circumstances which could be turned by a man like Ingädä Wark—who hated him, and was an Abyssinian, having the king's ear—to his extreme disadvantage. And we must, after all that Mr. Markham says, be "ungenerous" enough to throw some "portion of the blame," and not a very small one either, upon the consul.

It was for the deliverance of Messrs. Cameron, Stern, and their fellow-captives that the British mission to King Theodore was undertaken. Mr. Rassam, whose antecedents are generally understood, and need not be recapitulated here, was chosen to conduct the negotiations; and, on the showing of these volumes, a better choice could hardly have been made. The practised, sagacious, self-restrained diplomatist is conspicuous on every page, and in every transaction; and one cannot help feeling that, if Rassam, instead of Cameron, had been *consul*, "the Abyssinian difficulty" would probably never have occurred. The patience, courtesy, moderation, and tact, of this able and excellent man, were truly wonderful. But as our design is rather to give occasional illustration than consecutive narrative, we must not attempt to follow his course. He was kept waiting at Massowah for many months, notwithstanding frequent letters to the king, before the latter would condescend to recognise his existence. He was treated very uncourteously when the barbarian deigned to open communication with him, the royal reply being neither signed nor sealed. He was tantalised with false reports of the release of the captives—reports which, if not actually set afloat by Theodore, were heartily approved by that crafty and unscrupulous savage. Yet he seems never to have forgotten himself; never to have betrayed by word or look the annoyance and mortification which this treatment inflicted on him. He had

always "a soft answer," wherewith to "turn away" the king's "wrath;" and never overlooked, in regard for himself, what was due to the dignity and interests of his country, and most likely to save the lives of the prisoners, and accomplish their deliverance. The monarch, though betrayed by the treachery of his minions, and his own suspicious and fickle nature, into frequent insults and outrages, seems always to have cherished a real regard for him, and even when he made him prisoner, to have treated him with special favour and distinction. From the moment of his first interview with Rassam, he drew a marked distinction between him and the other Europeans, saying, on one occasion—

"'Ever since the death of Plowden and Yuhannes' (Bell), all the English and Franks who have visited my country have proved themselves wanting in sincerity, ill-mannered and ill-tempered. I therefore said within myself, I will not see this English agent until I find out that he is of a different disposition to those who have already created a breach between me and my friend the Queen of England. Your patience in waiting for an answer convinced me of your worth, and now that you have happily established a renewal of the amicable relations between my country and England, I wish you to convey to your Queen and to her Council my anxious desire to cultivate the friendship of the English—an object which I have been intent upon ever since I ascended the throne of Abyssinia."—*Rassam*, vol. i. pp. 295, 296.

Mr. Rassam's journey to Abyssinia skirted the highlands, by a route describing, to speak roughly, nearly three-quarters of a circle. The country through which he travelled was chiefly plain and lowland, and was mostly inhabited by Mohammedans. His immediate and most trusted attendants—up to the frontier of Theodore's territory—were also Mohammedans; and, on the whole, seem in most respects to have contrasted favourably with their Christian neighbours. The account of this journey is replete with information and interest. Mr. Rassam's companions and hosts displayed truly Arab qualities. Grave, yet full of humour; superstitious, yet with abounding common sense; ready with a neat proverb upon occasion; and ever kind and obliging, they furnished him with never-ceasing entertainment. His head cameleer, gifted to the full with the deliberate quality of his race, replied to the impatient remonstrances of the traveller, "Haste is devilish! patience is godly! What is the use of hurrying, when the camels cannot walk steadily? Not that we care about the camels—let them be your propitiation; but some of your

cases may be smashed, and you will be left in the lurch for want of sufficient carriage to convey the remainder." A band of reluctant cameleers, appalled at the size of the cases containing Theodore's glass ware, were brought up to the scratch by the following characteristic speech:—

"Peace be with you! O ye believers, thank God for sending you such a father. Do not be frightened at the size of the boxes, for they are light, very light; they only require care. But even if they were heavy, what would that matter, compared with the kind treatment which you will receive? Just look at that meat dangling from the camels' backs, and be satisfied. Be of good cheer, I say."—*Rassam*, vol. i. p. 153.

Here is another genuine specimen:—

"El-Bushir was for pushing on, his motto being that 'the faster one travelled the more rapidly the time is got over.' Being the sheikh of the Kâfilah, he had charge of the glass ware, and as his camel was a fast walker he was always ahead of the others. Towards ten o'clock the cameleers began grumbling about the length of the stage, and begged the sheikh to halt and give the camels a few hours' rest. To this he merely replied, 'When my camel shows signs of fatigue, it will then be time enough to think of a halt. It is useless that you tire yourselves by talking, because'—he went on to say, on their renewed importunities—'I will not halt, were it to save your fathers from being burnt in Jehennam; and, by the death of my progenitors, I will not listen to you, nor answer you again; so you had better shut your mouths.'"—*Rassam*, vol. i. p. 155.

Theodore was universally and most heartily abhorred by the children of the Prophet, who in speaking of him called him "that beast, that son of a dog," and other equally complimentary names. But we must linger no longer on this weary and trying journey. Suffice it to say that, after infinite toil and suffering, and much needless and provoking delay, our envoy was permitted to stand face to face with the "king of kings," and was received with every mark of consideration which the customs of the country dictated. For a time all seemed to go on well. The formalities were indeed very tiresome, and the king's capricious humour kept Mr. Rassam in a state of mind more lively than agreeable; but at last the captives were set free and forwarded to Mr. Rassam, who received them courteously, but purposely avoided a more cordial welcome, as he had been assured that any very demonstrative affection would be interpreted by the king into "siding with his enemies."

But now began a series of hindrances, intrigues, and exactions, which ended in the disgrace and arrest of the Mission, and at last in the imprisonment of its members. It is right that Mr. Rassam should be heard as to the chief cause of this disastrous and most unexpected reverse. The bitter *animus* of his majesty against Cameron, Stern, and the rest, seems never to have abated; although he had released them in deference to Mr. Rassam, and from his desire to stand well with Queen Victoria. Once in the envoy's hands, they hastened preparations for leaving the inhospitable land, in which, of course, they were eagerly assisted by himself. But, on one plea or another, delays were continually interposed by Theodore. Mr. Rassam had remarked that for some time past, the salutations of friendly people had generally closed with a wish—an ominous wish, as it proved—that he and his companions might get safely out of the country. The captives started on their way, and the Mission proceeded to the royal camp, there to take formal leave of the king. But no sooner had they entered the royal presence, than each was seized by three strapping chiefs, searched, and roughly handled. Mr. Rassam attributes this astounding change in the first instance to the interference of Dr. Beke. Soon after the deliverance of the captives, it transpired that the gentleman in question had arrived at Massowah, had forwarded to the king a humble, not to say abject, petition from certain friends and relatives of the captives, and had proposed to come up to him with presents designed to propitiate him. The king took Dr. Beke's interposition in bad part; but, unfortunately, under the plea of suspecting the sincerity of the British Government, he visited the offence upon the Mission. The British authorities at Massowah, the members of the Mission, and the Europeans in Abyssinia generally, strongly disapproved of the unauthorised and very injudicious interference of that good man. The Egyptian Consul-General, and Colonel Merewether, who played so conspicuous a part in the subsequent Expedition, both condemned it. The latter, indeed, officially remonstrated by letter with Dr. Beke, informing him of the hopeful progress of the Mission, and begging him at least to defer his journey till more definite information could be obtained; but the impracticable philanthropist would not be persuaded. Mr. Rassam is convinced that—

“At the end of January, 1866, Theodore had no thought of detaining us, and that he began to change his mind when he heard of the arrival at Massowah of another person, whose ostensible object was to

procure the liberation of the Magdala captives. Ignorant as he was of the liberty of the subject in England, it is not surprising that, at a loss to comprehend how a private Englishman dared to interfere in an important matter which had already been taken in hand by his sovereign, Theodore was led to question whether we were dealing with him in a straightforward manner; and, of course, his suspicions would be confirmed on hearing that the agent referred to had been conveyed to and from Massowah in a Government steamer."—*Rassam*, vol. ii. pp. 67-8.

This is by no means a solitary instance of injustice and injury consequent upon the unwise interference of private and irresponsible parties. It is often the duty of philanthropists to call the attention of Governments to outrages which might otherwise escape their notice, or be underrated by them; and no doubt it is occasionally necessary to be vociferous, and even clamorous, in order to secure the official attention, and arouse the official conscience. But when the authorities have taken up the matter, and give every sign of acting in good faith, through the medium of their qualified and responsible agents, all private interference should cease. Nothing can be clearer than that a contrary course will induce endless complications and delays, and be the means of inflicting evil, which would be avoided if all were left to the regular action of diplomacy. In the present, as in some former instances, the unwise and meddling proceedings of irresponsible philanthropy wrought much mischief to those who had well-nigh accomplished their mission, and entailed upon John Bull an amount of expenditure which, even he, good-natured and foolish as he is, finds it very hard to bear.

No sooner was the Mission arrested than the king instituted a kind of mock trial, at which he produced frivolous and vexatious charges against the envoy—charges that broke down, however, on the instant. Then he began to apologise, but insisted on searching his prisoners' baggage, and keeping them under close arrest. They prudently destroyed every scrap of paper in their possession. They were presently joined by the former captives, who had been re-arrested, and were now presented in couples, chained arm to arm, before the king, who evinced the utmost bitterness against them, and entered into wrangling and frivolous accusations against the Mission, solely for the purpose, as he afterwards repeatedly confessed, of detaining its members in the country, for the advancement of his own ulterior views. It would be endless to repeat all the capricious and ever-changing whims

of the king, and their effects upon the parties who were now in his hands. At one time he would pretend to consent to their departure; but presently, on the most frivolous pretexts, he would revoke his consent; and it soon became evident that, for some purpose of his own, he was determined to detain them in the country. He loaded them from time to time with presents, and professed the most profound respect for Mr. Rassam, walking and chatting with him, but taking care to have him effectually watched. There are not wanting, in the account of this period, proofs of a certain suppleness and obsequiousness on the part of our envoy, which are characteristic of his Oriental descent, and make us rather glad that he was not a native Englishman. The *suppressio veri*, if not the *suggestio falsi*, occurs often enough in the incidents and correspondence before us, to convince us that a very smooth and diplomatic man was chosen for a very slippery task. But we must do him the justice to say that he displayed an unflinching fidelity to the Government whose servant he was, and to the enterprise in which he was employed.

The prevalence of cholera and typhus fever compelled the removal of the royal camp; and the king proceeded in the direction of Magdala, taking his captives with him, and displaying the most extraordinary and fickle freaks of temper on the way. They were detained by his orders at Gaffat, the station of his majesty's European artisans, and were entertained and tantalised by the strangest alternations of kindness and severity—the latter, on the whole, predominating, and giving ominous signs that they had not yet drunk the cup of humiliation and misery to the dregs. It is very clear that the king suffered frequently from actual and violent madness. Witness the following scene. Two hours after receiving an extremely polite message from Theodore, Mr. Rassam was summoned into his presence, and thus describes what followed:—

“ My surprise may be imagined when I found Dr. Blanc standing in front of his majesty like a criminal, and when, a few minutes afterwards, Mr. Rosenthal was brought in by a number of soldiers. The king looked as if he had gone mad, and the first thing he said to me was, that I hated him. On inquiring what had occurred to make him say so, he said that he had four charges against me: first, that I had read Mr. Stern's book, *Wanderings among the Falashas*; secondly, that he had given Consul Cameron a letter for my Queen, and that he had returned to Abyssinia without an answer; thirdly, that I had tried to send away the Magdala captives from Abyssinia without taking them to him; and fourthly, that the Turks had possession of

Jerusalem, and that England and France allowed them to keep it. He demanded his patrimony, on the ground that the Holy City had formerly belonged to Kings David and Solomon, his forefathers, and said, 'I want Europe to restore to me the Holy Land.'—*Rassam*, vol. ii. p. 152.

He placed the captives under closer arrest than ever; yet the very same night he entered their prison tent with a plentiful supply of meat and drink, drank healths with them all round, laughed at Mr. Stern for looking so disconsolate, behaved altogether in a "jolly" way, and wound up by declaring that he believed himself to be mad, a confession which all of them were ready to endorse. In a day or two the party were transferred to Magdala, that mountain-fastness which by this act he has made famous for ever in history. All the captives, including Mr. Rassam himself, were put in irons, the chiefs assuring him that this indignity was "not a sign of ill-will, as they were certain that their master was my friend, and hoped that before many days had elapsed everything would be right again."

They reached Magdala on the 12th of July, 1866, and remained in durance vile for nearly two years—the fall of Theodore occurring in April, 1868. Mr. Rassam gives us a very interesting account of their life here, interspersed with numerous personal sketches, and brief accounts of the soil and climate, and of the manners and customs of the singular community among whom their lot was so strangely cast. But we must refer our readers to the book itself for all details. It is impossible to speak too highly of this excellent and admirably written book. It will amply repay a careful perusal.

But it is high time to turn to that remarkable "Expedition" which arose out of the events above related, and which, whether we look at the disinterested motives in which it originated; the plan, forethought, and perfect organisation by which it was characterised; the ability and steadfastness with which it was conducted through a new and most difficult country; the popularity which welcomed and waited upon every step of its progress; or the ease and completeness of its final triumph, is perhaps without a parallel in history. Mr. Markham and Mr. Acton must be our guides.

During Mr. Rassam's detention in Abyssinia, but before his seizure and imprisonment, the king had sent Mr. Flad, a lay missionary, to Massowah, to express his earnest wish to obtain skilled workmen and machinery from England. Colonel Merewether, the political resident at Aden, than whom her

Majesty has not in her service a braver or more enterprising soldier, or a more able diplomatist and administrator, proceeded to England in May, 1866, accompanied by Mr. Flad, and laid the king's request before Lord Stanley. That distinguished Foreign Secretary decided that it should be complied with. The seizure of the Mission, of which news arrived during the preparations, convinced Colonel Merewether that negotiations were hopeless, and that prompt and decisive measures were alone now possible; but the Government sent out a civil engineer, six artisans, and machinery and other presents, worth £6,000, which arrived at Massowah in December, 1866. The course of events, however, soon justified Colonel Merewether's opinions, and the workmen returned to England in the following May. An armed demonstration had become inevitable, and the Colonel set himself to acquire the necessary knowledge of the country, and otherwise to prepare for an early campaign. The Government put off the evil day as long as possible, but the resident, knowing that it must come, set inquiries on foot as to the best and most practicable route, personally explored the immediate neighbourhood, and employed others upon more distant reconnoitring expeditions. The information thus obtained proved invaluable when the time for action came. In July, 1867, the expedition was resolved upon. Colonel Merewether believed that an army of 6,000 men would be sufficient for the undertaking, and it was expected that he would obtain the command; but Sir Robert Napier, the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, insisted that least 12,000 would be required. Colonel Merewether was at considered too young to take charge of so large a force; and in August, Sir Robert himself was appointed to the command. To Colonel Merewether was intrusted the command of a reconnoitring party, and the very onerous duties of selecting the anchorage and landing-place, exploring the passes leading into the interior, establishing a footing in the country, and entering into communication with the native chiefs. All these duties were discharged with the utmost promptitude, and with consummate ability. Mulkutto, in Annesley Bay (afterwards called Zulla), was selected as the point of debarkation, and active operations were immediately begun. The difficulties in the way of constructing a pier were formidable; but modern engineering skill soon overcame these. By November the men and horses of the advanced brigade were landed; by the middle of December a tramway was laid for bringing up stores, wells were dug, and all things got ready for the important

enterprise. It was decided to march due south, through the Senafe Pass, to Magdala, but that Pass could only be reached by ascending a steep and rugged country presenting to the eye difficulties which seemed insurmountable. Of the general nature of this country a staff-officer wrote at the time :—

“It is as rough and terrible a causeway through mountains as nature ever formed, or suffered man to form. On either side, rocky barriers, some peaked, some castellated, and others rolled one upon another, like great sea-waves, bound the view, and tower in many places so near the sky as to make the sun a stranger to the scene during much of the day. No sign of human habitation meets the eye, excepting where, far away on the summit of some almost inaccessible mountain, wheeling kites indicate to us that a village is probably posted there. At intervals torrents pour into the pass, now on one side, now on another, through valleys scooped out in the huge mountain-chains. During a great portion of the year, there is little water in the beds of these; and it is then possible, by clambering over boulders, and forcing one's way through the brambly thickets which line their sides, to penetrate a few miles among the mountains. Colonies of Shohos, squatted among the rocks, and feeding, gipsy-like, the few goats and donkeys of which the wealth of their tribe consists, are the only specimens of human kind that one encounters on such excursions.”—*Acton*, p. 33.

The Shohos, a Mohammedan and savage people, inhabit the east coast of this part of Africa. It was indispensable, not only to prevent their opposition, but to enlist their active services, and this was accomplished without much difficulty, chiefly through the good offices of Meer Akbar Ali, a Mohammedan gentleman from India. After carefully reconnoitring the nearest Passes, that of Koomaylee was chosen. Mr. Acton's description of this Pass, though rather long, is at once so beautiful and so truly characteristic of the region, that we give it entire. Two or three admirable woodcuts greatly assist the imagination.

“The Koomaylee Pass is entered at a place of that name, six miles to the south of Haddoda, eleven miles from the Zulla landing-place, and about four hundred feet above the sea-level; the ground rising in terraces, with a few scattered crags, approaching the foot of the mountains. The spot is marked by a native burial-place, containing tombs or vaults, surmounted with square piles and pyramids of stones. The mouth of the pass is half a mile wide; the bottom or floor has a width of two or three hundred yards, and rises so gently, for the first eight miles, as to appear a perfect flat of sand, covered with boulders and thorny scrub. Then comes the Sooroo defile, extending a length of four miles, which presents the only great obstacle to making a road this way. The steepness is not at all considerable; the rise here does

not exceed three hundred feet in a mile. But these narrow gorges, Lower Sooroo, Middle, and Upper Sooroo, overhung by perpendicular cliffs on each side, are obstructed with a chaos of huge pieces of rocks, some of them nearly as big as a house, between which there was scarcely room for a man or a mule to walk. This is the channel of a stream called the Navaguddy, which must be equal to the Haddas when full of water after the yearly rains, and then forms tremendous rapids, or cataracts, over the rocky masses that lie in its course. Heaps of loose boulders, varying greatly in size, have been brought down by the torrent, and are strewn about at Sooroo. A slender vein of water, in the dry season, trickles through the stones. The pass again widens, at Upper Sooroo, being now two or three hundred yards across, with a level sandy bottom, but frequently bending, to right or left, around the spurs of the mountain: There are no more thorn-bushes; other shrubs, of pleasant green foliage, border the path, and betoken a more temperate climate. Fifteen miles above Sooroo, the Undul flows into the Navaguddy; and this place, at first named very inappropriately Guinea-fowl Plain, has since been known as Undul Wells. It was by the water-supply obtained here, that the Koomaylee Pass was made so convenient for the Expedition. Another stretch of fourteen miles brought the explorers to Rayraguddy, which is the end of the ravine, though still far below the upland plains. Every step in this stage of the journey gives fresh signs, delightful to the eyes of Europeans, that they are now approaching a region more congenial to their frames and habits than the torrid shores of the Red Sea. The evergreen oak, and an abundance of ivy, here flourish, as well as cacti of various species, aloes, mimosas, wild olives, sycamores, laburnums, acacias, and the singular kolquol, a beautiful sort of euphorbia, having clusters of upright dark green branches. Here is verdant turf; here are thyme and lavender; graceful creeping plants, such as the clematis, hang from the rocks; tall juniper pines look down from above. Rayraguddy, 6,000 feet above the sea, is like an Alpine valley, yet with a touch of semi-tropical vegetation. The sun was hot there, but in the shade it was cool, and at night it was very cold, when the reconnoitring party slept there. The remaining distance, from Rayraguddy to Senafe, is but nine miles. Leaving, more than half-way, the narrow valley or lane of beautiful foliage we have described, they suddenly began to climb the steep flank of the mountain, amidst fine rocks and stunted pines, rising about 1,500 feet in less than two miles. This was the second and only other difficulty after the stony bed of the Sooroo defile; but it was not insurmountable; and, when they had got to the top of the Alpine wall of Abyssinia, their task of exploration was done. An expanse of moorland, upon the surface of which, as on Dartmoor in Devonshire, were enormous tors or masses of rock, in diverse fantastic shapes, thrusting their weather-beaten heads out of the dark peaty soil and the fine soft turf of the downs, lay spread before them. It was their first view of Abyssinia, except what those had seen who had ascended the Tsaro peak, near Tekonda, a few days

before. Senafé, the appointed base of military operations, once a trading *dépôt*, now a hamlet of a dozen mud-built cottages, overlooked by several grand hills of sandstone, with precipitous sides, lay close at hand. Its entire distance from the Zulla landing-place was but sixty-two miles. Colonel Phayre and Brigadier Merewether at once decided in favour of the Koomaylee route."—*Acton*, pp. 34, 35.

Great difficulties were at first experienced in the organisation of the Land Transport Service. The number of fighting men, when all were collected, was 13,000, and there were at least as many non-combatant servants. The country was strange and distant, the military operations were to be carried on three or four hundred miles from the ships, and the army was to depend on its own Government for support. It was indispensable, therefore, that the means of supply and transport should be thoroughly efficient. It is no new thing for our military authorities to make egregious and most damaging blunders at the outset of such undertakings as this; the state of things at Balaclava and Scutari will be fresh in the remembrance of our readers. In the present instance an enormous degree of confusion and loss resulted from the perversity of some of the members of the Bombay Staff and Council. The necessity of placing the vast number of animals to be employed under the care and control of the highly-trained native officers of our Indian army had been strongly insisted upon by Major Warden; but his suggestions were rejected, notwithstanding an earnest official protest from the Commander-in-Chief; and the task of collecting and managing the stupendous force was conducted according to "the rule of thumb." Thousands of mules were collected from different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and, with the exception of a few Indian military or railway servants, all sorts of men—including "the off-scouring of the Bombay streets, broken-down native tradesmen, discharged Europeans and Eurasians from other departments, and the class termed loafers"—were hired to attend them. The state of things at the landing-place a few weeks before the Commander-in-Chief arrived was awful. Under the sway of "the idle rogues" above described—

"Dead mules, camels, and oxen, lay thick upon the shore; some were devoured by vultures, other carcases were partially burned, leaving heaps of ashes and charred bones close to the soldiers' camp. At the watering-troughs, which were small and leaky, the poor animals struggled and fought, biting and kicking for a drink of fresh water. Starving brutes crawled sadly about till they dropped and died; or, mad with thirst, staggered down to drink of the salt sea; or wandered

lonely away, trying to nibble the thorny bushes, over the plains of barren sand. There were at Christmas time on shore at Zulla, or between Zulla and Senafé, about six thousand mules and ponies, nine hundred bullocks, and seventeen hundred camels, with two thousand three hundred and fifty-five men to take care of them, besides the inspectors and officers. A destructive epidemic had broken out among the mules and pack-horses, and it soon affected the horses of the cavalry and artillery likewise. Four thousand more camels were kept waiting at Aden, three thousand more pack bullocks at Bombay, and two thousand mules more at Suez, because it was known that, if sent to Zulla, they would perish from neglect."—*Acton*, pp. 37, 38.

Very much had been done, under the able command of Sir Charles Staveley, to reduce this frightful chaos to something like order, and good progress had been made in road-making up the pass, by the time that Sir Robert Napier arrived and took the command of the Expedition. Yet the incomplete state of the preparations detained him for three weeks at Zulla. Pioneer detachments were sent forward on the 18th of January, 1868, and few following days; on the 31st the advanced brigade fairly started; and on the 3rd of February Sir Robert himself went forward, suitably accompanied. From Senafé, the road to which has been already described, and which was called Post No. 2, a march of from thirty-four to thirty-seven miles led up to Adigërat.

"The army traversed a pretty valley, where the beautiful pink blossoms of the cactus, which clothed the sides of the hills, delighted the eye after the sterner aspect of the upland moors. The first halt was at Goun-gouna, a very picturesque spot, with red sandstone cliffs, and with a romantic waterfall of the Mai Muna river tumbling over a rock about fifty feet high. The bottom of the dell is full of various shrubs and small trees, which abound in cooing pigeons. Such English plants as the violet, the bramble, honeysuckle, and dog-rose, with the familiar jasmine and clematis, were here recognised, as well as the aloe, then in flower. There were huge quaint-looking trees, with twisted grey trunks and bright green foliage; near the stream there were maidenhair and other ferns; the rocks were covered with lichens. A steep ascent of several hundred feet from Goun-gouna brought the road up again to the general level of the table-land. Passing onwards and approaching the next dip into another basin or hollow at Focada, the way presented the most surprising views of many near or distant mountains, having a wonderful variety of shapes, round or square; flat-topped, dome-topped, conical, peaked, or with long jagged edges."—*Acton*, pp. 40, 41.

At Adigërat an embassy was received from Prince Kassai, the chief of Tigré, who was in arms against Theodore. The official designation of one of these was a Likamankuas, which

the soldiers characteristically changed into "Liquor-my-goose." The interview was most satisfactory; the English general explaining the object of the Expedition, and the envoys of Prince Kassai, in reply, denouncing the tyrant, hoping that Sir Robert would punish him, and receiving, on their own and their master's behalf, several handsome presents.

The deficient state of the transport service in the rear compelled a delay of twelve days at Adigërat; but the interval was employed in constructing a fortified camp, and in perfecting the arrangements necessary to the further advance of the army. Mr. Markham criticises Sir Robert's cautious proceedings, if we understand him rightly, in a somewhat sneering and cynical spirit, on the ground that supplies were easily and abundantly purchased of the natives encountered on the line of march. But anyone can be wise after the event; and our readers will think that the very great attention paid by the Commander-in-Chief to the comfort of his troops, and to his communication with the sea, redound infinitely to his credit. He had scarcely any reason to depend on the friendliness of the surrounding tribes, and any important deficiency in the commissariat might at any moment ruin the whole affair. The consummate foresight which provided for every emergency should not be underrated because, as it turned out, no actual emergency arose.

At Ad Abaga, twenty-eight miles south of Adigërat, Prince Kassai himself had an interview with the British general. The ceremonial was very stately and dignified on both sides. The Prince, if the likeness of him in Mr. Acton's volume be a good one, is a very handsome man, with a remarkably open and intelligent countenance; and the relations between this prince and the leaders of the Expedition at once were placed upon the most amicable and cordial footing. Sir Robert now moved forward to a place some six miles beyond Antalo, and here the half-way house of the Expedition was established.

In the meantime, the wretched savage against whom all these laborious and costly proceedings were advancing, was playing the madman in the most fearful style, and casting around him "firebrands, arrows, and death," with the recklessness of an incarnate fiend. He gave way without stint to his passion for strong drink; neglected his person till he became sordid and filthy in the extreme; hardly slept at night, but "walked about alone, muttering threats and curses;" burnt villages, with their inhabitants, by wholesale; murdered at one time, in cold blood, six hundred and fifty

Gallas—the best and most faithful men in his army—having had them driven into an enclosure, strongly bound, and then destroyed as fast as the sword could do its work. He chopped off the hands and feet of hundreds of his victims, “galloping round them, shouting wildly, and prodding them with his spear.” Vast tracts of country were laid waste by fire and sword; the great chiefs were either imprisoned in Magdala, or driven into open rebellion. The whole country rose up against his atrocious tyranny; but the lion at bay was terrible. As the circle closed round him, he put forth almost superhuman energies—developed a force of will and power of command which showed him to have possessed marvellously great qualities. He had an enormous mortar cast, which he called “Sebastopol,” and the march during which this monster was dragged over the mountains to Magdala was one of the most wonderful things in history. The poor groaning wretches who drew it were goaded, tortured, and insulted beyond measure; “his cruelties on this wild march left a trail of innocent blood, a wail of human sorrow, a blackness and smoke of blasting fire wherever he went.” Huge rocks were blasted, and a road hewn through cliffs of basalt. He himself worked harder than a day-labourer—scolded and abused his followers in the vilest language.

“He once stood upon a rock, and, looking down on sullen faces, exclaimed, ‘Dogs and cowards! I know you all hate me; you all want to run away from me, but I do not let you go. Then why do you not kill me? I am here one man; I stand alone, and you are thousands.’ In haughty derision he tossed his spear on the ground; then again he spoke, addressing the malcontents, who had been almost ready to mutiny, but were now fascinated and overawed by his demeanour: ‘Well, if you will not kill me, I will kill you all, one after another. Go on with your work!’ They admired and obeyed. The Satan of Milton is not a more characteristic portrait of heroic strength of purpose and impious audacity, at war with earth and heaven.”—*Acton*, p. 51.

And so the lion drew towards his lair, performing prodigies of engineering and road-making skill, and about the third week in March he entered his last stronghold, where the captives had long lain, experiencing every variety of treatment which his demoniac passion or hypocritical affectation could devise. And here, in despairing but invincible defiance, he awaited the onslaught which, in a moment, was to strike him down for ever.

† The march from Antalo lay through the very heart of the Abyssinian Alps. Mr. Markham says:—

"The march to Magdala was at last really commenced, and we entered the country of volcanic mountains, where water and vegetation is [*sic*] more plentiful, but also where the mountain passes are loftier, and the marching consequently more severe. But the magnificent scenery lightened the fatigue in small degree: for there can be no doubt that it is less tiring to walk through a beautiful country than over a dead flat, although most of the men may be unconscious, or but half-conscious, of the reason for this difference. They swore at the mountain-passes, while actually enjoying their grandeur. 'They tell us this is a table-land,' exclaimed one of the 33rd, in climbing up the Alaji ascent. 'If it is, they have turned the table upside down, and we are scrambling up and down the legs.'"—*Markham*, pp. 269, 270.

One of the illustrations in Mr. Acton's book depicts "a bit of the line of march" through this fine country; and truly it justifies the tired soldier's joke. One wonders how upon earth an army so heavily encumbered could possibly get forward. At last, however, the difficulties of this break-neck country were conquered, and the army debouched and encamped upon the Wadela Plateau, "an undulating piece of land seven miles broad," and 10,500 feet above the sea-level. Here reinforcements joined them from the rear, including the Royal Naval Brigade, well equipped for rocket practice.

"These sailors really marched on land as well as any of the soldiers, and managed their mules as well as any drivers, while the camp was enlivened by their jokes and fun. They struck up an intimate friendship with the Punjaubees, who used to bring their band of music to play all sorts of tunes, that the blue-jackets might dance a hornpipe. It was a pleasure to see the jolly fellows in the interior of Africa."—*Acton*, p. 58.

Travelling along the length of the plateau, the army followed the track of Theodore through a country cruelly ravaged and destroyed. After three days' march, they came suddenly "on the brink of a vast gulf, 3,400 feet deep, and eight miles wide, that seemed to have opened in the earth just before them." Opposite was the stupendous wall of the Talanta highland. A descent of four miles and a half brought them to the edge of the Jidda river; crossing which, they ascended three miles and a half, by Theodore's new and wonderfully constructed road, to the Talanta plateau. From this place, Sir Robert sent the following summons to Theodore:—

"By command of the Queen of England, I am approaching Magdala with an army, in order to recover from your hands Envoy Rassam, Consul Cameron, Dr. Blanc, and the other Europeans now in your majesty's power. I request your majesty to send them to my camp, as soon as it is sufficiently near to admit of their coming in safety."

On the 8th of April the army encamped on the verge of the Talanta plateau, overlooking the Beshilo ravine, and in full view of the Magdala heights ; and by the 9th everything was ready for the storming of the fortress. Theodore, in the meantime, was performing the most fantastic and horrible tricks. His arrogant impiety had long been proverbial ; and it is confidently declared that he once said, "I have made an agreement with God, that I will not go up to attack Him in heaven, and He will not come down to attack me on earth." When he now saw the war-cloud darkening above and around him, he was for a moment overawed by this token of the retributive justice of the Power he had so often blasphemed, and said, as he heard of Napier's approach, "Well, it seems to be the will of God that they come. If He who is above does not kill me, none will kill me ; and if He says I must die, none can save me." At one time he would call the English army "white donkeys ;" at another he would try to pass them off as allies, come to aid him in his ambitious projects. Now he would appear to exult at the prospect of speedily beholding the splendid discipline of a European army ; again he would speak of making a blood-bath, and dying ; then, in an agony of loneliness and mortification, he would cry out that he knew himself to be mad. But all the while he worked with demoniac energy. Mr. Rassam was soon unchained, and once more courteously received into the royal tent ; and at his intercession, the fetters were removed from Lieutenant Prideaux and Dr. Blanc. These gentlemen were invited to inspect the roads and artillery ; and, in another moment of relenting, the king ordered all the old European captives to be unchained. On the day before the British force appeared opposite Magdala, he dressed himself in gorgeous silk attire, and for two hours harangued his troops in the most approved *Bombastes Furioso* style, hurling defiance at the English, and assuring his troops that they would easily conquer the invaders, and secure incalculable spoil. A few native prisoners were released, and about a hundred more next morning. Professing to be impatient at Napier's tardy movements, he said, "I am tired of looking out ; I am going to rest awhile." He soon became deeply intoxicated, and fell into a drunken sleep.

"At a later hour, the king was aroused by hearing cries of 'Abiet ! abiet !' which means 'Lord ! lord !' the usual address of beggars imploring alms ; this cry proceeded from the huts where his native prisoners were crowded together. No attendance had been provided

for them, and they had received no food since they were brought down from the Amba, early on the day before. Theodore angrily inquired of his servants what these people meant by making such a noise. He was told that they were begging for bread and water. Then, seizing his sword, and exclaiming, 'I will teach them to ask for food before my soldiers are fed!' he staggered out of his tent. He ordered his guards to bring out all the miserable prisoners, and furiously rushed at the foremost, hacking two of them to pieces with his own sword. The third was a little boy, ten years old, whose father had offended Theodore. He, too, was slaughtered in the same manner, though not by the king's hand. The massacre of the rest was more orderly and leisurely. Theodore demanded of each his name, his place, and his offence; the musketeers were then ordered to shoot him, and to hurl his body, living or dead, over the precipice. The number of victims on this occasion was 307, leaving 91 reserved for another day; but these were rescued by Sir Robert Napier, on the Monday, when the corpses of the slain were found, a ghastly heap, at the bottom of the cliff."—*Acton*, p. 62.

Thus, while the army of deliverance lay sleeping on the opposite heights, waiting for the morrow, the tiger took his last fill of blood. But early on that morning, Good Friday, the invaders moved forward to strike the blow which should deliver Abyssinia from the fell rule of this ferocious enemy of mankind. The scene is described by Mr. Acton with great spirit and beauty. As the British troops debouched upon the Arooghee platform, it was found to be all but commanded by the heights in front, and Theodore, who was watching the movements, opened fire, and sent his warriors headlong down to the charge. Round shot from his guns actually plunged into the ground close in front of the advancing force, but the quick eye of the General instantly detected the crisis, and suitable dispositions were made in a moment.

"All at once from the hill of Afeejo behind our troops, a hissing noise, as of a fiery flying dragon, came rushing through the upper air. The British sailors, in one minute after climbing up to their position on the side of that hill, had taken their rocket apparatus off the mules' backs, placed and pointed the tubes, and sent one of those strange messengers of deadly terror blazing and whizzing into the midst of the enemy, where it burst in a shower of iron. Nothing like that had ever been known in Abyssinian warfare. The grey-haired Fetwarri Gabria, experienced in a hundred battles, knew not what to make of it. The brave warriors of King Theodore—for brave indeed they were—paused and wavered but a moment; when at the same moment they were greeted by the three hundred men of the 4th Regiment with a volley from the Sniders—another volley in less than ten seconds—then a third volley—then a fourth—then a fifth—and so on at the rate of

six or eight volleys a minute, poured with collected precision into their dense disorderly throng, and mowing them down as with the swiftly repeated strokes of a mighty scythe."—*Acton*, pp. 64, 65.

The Abyssinians, however, gave way very slowly and deliberately, making a brave but utterly useless fight of it; and it was not till late in the evening that "a hearty British cheer" proclaimed our victory. In this the one fight of the campaign the Abyssinians had at least 700 soldiers killed, and 1,500 wounded. On the British side, there was not a single man killed on the field, but twenty were wounded, and two mortally; these two belonging to native Indian regiments. Captain E. Roberts, of the 4th King's Own, was the only English officer wounded; his left elbow was shattered by a musket ball, and he had to suffer amputation of the arm.

Theodore, thus thoroughly beaten, sent the following message to Mr. Rassam: "I thought the people who are now come were women; I find they are men. I have been conquered by the advanced guard alone. All my musketeers are killed. Reconcile me now with your people." He soon got drunk, however, and insulted the messengers whom Rassam had advised him to send to the British general. But before day-break he relented, and Lieutenant Prideaux and Mr. Flad were sent into the camp, where they were most enthusiastically received. Sir Robert Napier sent back the following demand:—

"Your majesty has fought like a brave man, and has been overcome by the superior power of the British army. It is my desire that no more blood may be shed. If, therefore, your majesty will submit to the Queen of England, and bring all the Europeans now in your majesty's hands, I guarantee honourable treatment for yourself, and all the members of your majesty's family."

It required some courage to take back such a reply; but Prideaux and Flad returned, and it was delivered into his majesty's hands. On reading it, he betrayed deep agitation and displeasure. But he controlled himself, and dictated a letter, in which, after abusing his own troops, acknowledging his defeat, and commending his people to the moderation and care of the General, he flatly refused to become a prisoner, saying in conclusion, "A warrior who has dandled strong men in his arms like infants will never suffer himself to be dandled in the arms of others." After sending this letter, he sat for some time in profound and melancholy meditation, then rose from the ground, bowed his head to the earth three times, in the customary attitude of prayer; then took a

draught of water ; and finally took a pistol from his girdle, and put the barrel into his mouth. But his faithful servants, who were carefully watching him, rushed upon him, and after a hard struggle, during which the weapon went harmlessly off, succeeded in completely disarming him. He was subdued, his proud and angry heart was softened ; he sent for his much-injured legitimate wife, and a heartfelt reconciliation ensued ; and then—strange and surpassing climax—he sent word to the captives that they were all free, that they might at once go to the camp, and might send for their property on the morrow.

The captives themselves were actually dismayed, and felt almost sure that they were to be betrayed and butchered. Very wisely they requested to be permitted to say "farewell," and were marched past his majesty. The latter "whispered something to the nearest soldier, and took his musket from him," and it seemed as if the real purpose of the Expedition were to be frustrated after all by their massacre in the very moment of apparent freedom. Indeed, it is little less than a miracle that they were not murdered. But, if such a thought dwelt in Theodore's dark heart for an instant, he put it away. He wished Dr. Blanc a kind good-bye "in a low, sad voice," turned his back while the others went quickly and silently past ; then, after a faint attempt to detain Mr. Rassam till the morrow, shook hands with him, weeping as he did so ; and when at last the liberated party were out of sight, he sat down upon a rock, and wept more bitterly than ever.

Prideaux and Flad had been sent with the last letter of the king, which was not directed ; and Sir Robert Napier was compelled to send them back with a verbal message to the effect that no further negotiations would take place until his majesty should have complied with his demands. The two messengers nobly and courageously undertook the task, although "the British camp was full of sorrowful anxiety" as to what might befall them in the presence of Theodore. But these intrepid men met the released captives, and any fears they themselves may have had subsided. On the next day—Easter Sunday—the king's scribe came to the camp, bearing a letter in which his majesty promised, not only the release of all the captives, but the surrender of even his own European employés ; and asked to be allowed to send the General a present of a few cows. This present Sir Robert Napier said that he could not accept as a token of peace, unless Theodore would comply with the terms which had been demanded. Most unfortunately this answer was misunderstood by both

Mr. Rassam and the interpreter given him by the king ; and Theodore was informed simply that the General would accept his present. He immediately ordered a thousand cows and five hundred sheep to be sent down ; but when Sir Robert found that the acceptance of these animals would be understood as the making of a covenant of peace, he unhesitatingly refused to let them enter within his lines.

Theodore was contemplating the scene through his telescope, and saw that his peace-offering was refused. Well was it for his prisoners that they were safe within the British lines. His rage was fearful ; and he made the most furious attempts to rouse his soldiers, and lead them to a new attack. But his power over them was gone, and he was informed that Magdala would be surrendered on the next day. In the darkness of the night, accompanied by about fifty desperate followers, he tried to steal away ; but the Galla horsemen guarded every avenue, and he was compelled to return to Islamgee. Hundreds of the chiefs tendered their submission to Sir Robert Napier, and were received ; but the British army moved onward to the attack of Magdala. On the way up they encountered twenty or thirty thousand people of all kinds, and both sexes ; combatants and non-combatants—the whole population of Magdala and the surrounding villages—with flocks and herds, and all their goods and chattels. These set up loud shouts of welcome, and bent in humble salutation, the disbanded soldiers laying down their arms as they passed. Approaching the fortress, the British cavalry descried Theodore, in the midst of eight or ten horsemen, gesticulating violently—in fact, challenging the officers to personal combat. This, of course, was declined, and Theodore tried to retreat ; but Snider rifles and his own brass cannon, captured by a few civilians, were turned upon his little party, and it was driven with its leader into the citadel. The gate was closed, and for two hours the fortress was heavily bombarded, Theodore the while making preparations for a desperate defence. He had neither eaten nor slept for two days and nights ; the shells fell profusely around him, and one friend or relative after another was struck down, but there he sat with his little garrison of scarcely a hundred men, calmly contemplating through his glass the movements of his enemies, and with no thought of surrender. But the storming party came up, climbing over the wall, and poured a volley into the crowd of fugitives.

“ In another moment the dead body of a man lay among the huts in Magdala, about a hundred yards from the gate. He had shot

himself with his own pistol, which he put into his mouth, so that the bullet came out through the back of his head. This fierce human soul had fled; this proud little king of dusky *Æthiopia*, who had fretted, and strutted, and flitted across the scene, was gone outside the bounds of space and time. He stood before the King invisible, universal, and eternal, in the vast silence beyond all worlds."—*Acton*, p. 74.

Theodore's body having been identified, and the fact of his suicide verified, he was honourably buried on April 14th. The property found in Magdala, including the regalia, was of course seized, and most of it sold and the proceeds fairly divided. The fortress itself was not only dismantled, but blown to pieces and burnt with fire on the 17th, "as a mark of the anger of the British at the ill-treatment of our countrymen, and our abhorrence of the cruelties that Theodore had committed there." On the 18th, five days after Theodore's death, the return march began; on the 20th, while halting on the plain of Talanta, Sir Robert published a congratulatory order of the day, marked not only by intense patriotism, but by fervent devotion. On the 23rd, an ecclesiastical procession arrived on the Wadela plateau, and chanted, with endless grimace and facial distortion, a song of triumph. On the 15th of May, the poor widowed queen of Theodore, who was with the army, died, and was buried, with all the honours. On the 24th, the Queen's birthday was celebrated at Senafé by a grand review, of which Prince Kassai was a spectator, and from which he went home laden with presents. On the 29th, exactly a year before the day on which we pen these closing lines, the Expedition quitted Abyssinia; and by the middle of June "the last of our troops and stores were safely embarked." We take leave of our subject and of our readers in the just and striking words of Mr. Acton:—

"In one respect, above all, this campaign is worthy of special note. When and where before did an army pass through a despised and defenceless population without doing a single act of wrong? If we have other wars to come, may they be carried on like this! But may no unwary British consul, no rambling subject of this widely-scattered realm, no preaching missionary of our too enterprising religious societies, ever again fall into the clutches of a barbarous tyrant! May our Foreign Office and its agents spoil the temper of no such potentate by indiscreet flattery and indulgence, followed by harsh discourtesy and studied neglect! But may the British army, with our brave native Indian soldiers, under the command of British officers, well skilled alike in council and in war, be ever held ready to protect the interests of the British empire in the remotest parts of the globe!"—*Acton*, p. 77.

- ART. VII.—1. *Letters written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.* By MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT. London. 1796.
2. *Journal of a Residence in Norway during the Years 1834, 1835, and 1836.* By SAMUEL LAING, Esq. London: Longmans. 1851.
3. *An Eight Weeks' Journal in Norway in 1852.* With Rough Outlines. By Sir C. ANDERSON, Bart. London: Rivingtons.
4. *Norway and its Scenery: comprising the Journal of a Tour.* By EDWARD PRICE, Esq. Edited by THOMAS FORESTER, Author of *Norway in 1848—9*. London: Bohn. 1853.
5. *Forest Scenes in Norway and Sweden.* By the Rev. HENRY NEWLAND. London: Routledge. 1855.
6. *The Oxonian in Norway.* By the Rev. FREDERICK METCALFE, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1857. Second Edition.
7. *Through Norway with a Knapsack.* By W. MATHIEU WILLIAMS. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1859.
8. *Norway and its Glaciers visited in 1851.* By JAMES FORBES, D.C.L., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1853.
9. *The Oxonian in Tellemark.* By Rev. F. METCALFE. London: Hurst and Blackett. 1858.
10. *Norway, the Road and the Fell.* By CHARLES ELTON, late Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. London: Parker. 1864.
11. *Norway: its People, Products, and Institutions.* By the Rev. JOHN BOWDEN, late British Consular Chaplain at Christiania. London: Chapman and Hall. 1867.
12. *A Summer and Winter in Norway.* By LADY DI BEAUCLERK. London: Murray. 1868.
13. *The Knapsack Guide to Norway.* London: Murray. 1864.
14. *Bennett's Handbook for Norway, for 1868.* Christiania: Bennett.
15. *Commercial Reports received at the Foreign Office from her Majesty's Consuls. Reports of Mr. Consul-General Crowe in 1866—7.* London: Harrison and Sons.

16. *M'Culloch's Geographical Dictionary.* London: Longmans. 1851.

17. *The Statesman's Year Book.* London: Macmillan. 1869.

Just three-quarters of a century ago a gifted but erratic Englishwoman was journeying through the then almost unknown country of Norway. She had been drawn thither by a consuming passion for a man who made but an inadequate return for so much affection. Travelling through the mountains and the forests of Scandinavia, Mary Wollstonecroft found for a time diversion from painful memories and gloomy forebodings. The "sweet beauty" of the northern summer calmed the tumult of her heart. The free institutions of the Norsk people consoled and delighted one whose love of liberty had been deeply wounded by the fierce outburst of Toryism in England, which the eloquent but terrified Burke had excited, and by the sad fate of her brilliant friends, the Girondists, in France. In Norway she found a simple race which, though nominally under despotic rule, was really self-governed. In Norway she met with neither political tyranny nor feudal oppression. The Norwegian husbandmen, as she said, had no fear of being turned out of their farms "should they displease a man in power; and, having no vote to be commanded at an election for a mock representative, are a manly race." In Norway she found no viceroy to "lord it over the people, and fatten his dependants with the fruit of their labours." There was no law of primogeniture, the land was equally divided among the children of a dead owner, it belonged to those who cultivated it. The officials were patriarchal in their relations to the people, and "had no time to learn to be tyrants." Not only was the land free: thought was free. A free thinker need not fear the pillory in Norway; in that country "a man might even deny the divinity of Christ without being considered universally a monster." Amid all the changes which have befallen Europe since the mother of Shelley's wife published her "Letters," Norway has retained her liberties. She has developed them. In spite of the atrocious political crime by which England handed over that country, without consulting her, to the King of Sweden as the price of his alliance, Norway has increased the freedom which she previously possessed. The very outrage which threatened her ruin was, through the valour of her people, turned to her advantage. They demanded and obtained fresh rights. At the present time Norway is as democratic as any country in Europe, not excepting even the Swiss Republic.

Soon after Mary Wollstonecroft's visit, the great war broke out, and continental travelling became dangerous. Norway remained unexplored by English literary travellers, with one exception, for about twenty years. Dr. Clarke visited the three Scandinavian kingdoms in 1799. He saw Christiania on the south and Throndjhem on the north. He meant to have reached the North Cape, but was prevented by illness. On his return south he met the Italian traveller Count Acerbi, who, more fortunate than the Englishman, reached the northernmost point of Europe. Some time before 1815 an artist named Edy travelled through Norway to make sketches for Boydell's splendid work. In 1820, Captain, afterwards Sir A. de Capel, Brooke went to the North Cape, and published a quarto volume narrating his travels. He was the first Englishman who reached that point, and the journey between Throndjhem and the Cape occupied no fewer than forty days. Three French travellers essayed the same feat. Proceeding from Tornea in Sweden they came across an inland lake, and mistook it for the Arctic Ocean. Ascending a mountain, they spent a whole day in cutting an inscription which is so thoroughly French that it is worth republishing:—"France gave us birth; Africa has beheld us; we have explored the Ganges; we have travelled over the whole of Europe. Having been exposed to various accidents both by sea and land, here at length have we arrived at the farthest boundary of the world. De Fercourt, De Corberon, Regnard." The last of the trio published a book, in which he said that he and his friends "had erected a trophy at the end of the world; materials having been wanting for their further toil, rather than courage to endure it." In reality they were 500 miles south of "the farthest boundary of the world." In 1826, Mr. Price crossed the Fillefjeld in spite of the warnings of the Norwegians that it was impracticable. He also made the journey from Bergen to the Hardanger Fjord, and subsequently journeyed from Throndjhem across the Dorrefjeld to Christiania. During his wanderings he encountered many hardships. In 1827, Mr. H. D. Inglis explored Tellemarken, but could not discover the famous Rjukan Foss. Nevertheless the volume which he published long remained, even if it is not still, the best book of travels in Norway. In 1827, the Rev. Robert Everest, of Oxford, discovered the famous Vöring Foss, which competes with the recently-discovered Skjæggedal Foss for the honour of being the finest waterfall in Norway. After this the number of Norwegian tourists increased rapidly, and as the country is large and the visitors were adventurous,

most of them had some fresh glories to tell of. Mr. Laing, the father of the ex-M.P., lived in Norway for many months, and published a journal which is still a standard work, and is, unquestionably, one of the very best books of the kind ever published. With this exception, there seems to have been a cessation of works on Norway between the volume published by Mr. Breton in 1834, which first described the Romsdal district, and the work of Mr. Forester, who with Lieutenant Biddulph made a very extensive tour in 1847. The last twenty years have produced, probably, as many books upon Norway. The comparative fewness of travellers has, paradoxical though it may seem, led to the frequency of books of travel. No one except members of the Alpine Club writes about Switzerland, for all the world goes there. It is only the few who go to Norway, and these have, therefore, an excuse for narrating their experiences. Moreover, the vast extent of the country (compared with which Switzerland is but as a parish compared with a state) leaves room for a great diversity of narrative. Further, Norway is one of the best sporting grounds in the world; and so it comes to pass that men like the late Mr. Newland and Mr. Metcalfe describe their achievements with the salmon, and men like Mr. Lloyd their more serious encounters with the bear. The men of science have as yet done little in Norway. They have been outnumbered by the more adventurous women of the period. The last have written in the persons of the "Unprotected Females," and, very recently, Lady Di Beauclerk; while the work on the glaciers of Norway, by the late Professor James Forbes, is, we believe, the only book upon that country written by a professed *savant*. And yet one might have supposed that the *savant*, at all events, would find no country more attractive than this. Ladies might well be deterred from visiting it by the long and generally stormy passage across the North Sea, and by the undeniable absence of *convenances* which has to be endured in every part of the country except the capital. But a mere glimpse at the map of Europe ought to attract the man of science to the most northern state of Europe. He sees a long strip of country stretching far into the frigid zone, yet with a temperature in many parts as high as that of Canada. He sees a coast eaten and corroded by the action of the Atlantic hurled against it by the western gales. He sees that this country is furrowed by some of the longest rivers in Europe, and intersected by mountains which form a breakwater for the whole of northern Europe against the tremendous force of the ocean, and that in all probability their attrition has furnished

the material of which the low grounds of the Continent are mainly composed. He would observe that a large portion of Norway is within the range of perpetual summer daylight, and thus he would have the opportunity of gazing on the midnight sun. If he be also a philologist, he would bear in mind that Norway is the birthplace of the men who conquered our land and built up our language, that it is even now the home of some of the wildest legends and of the most valuable historical records that Europe affords. If he be also a political economist, he will remember that in Norway he will find solved many of the political problems which have long puzzled and baffled us ; that, in this the land of the men who founded our nobility, nobility has been abolished : that here there is a church absolutely identical with the state, and yet suffering the widest toleration : that here there is a perfect system of political representation, and here, too, justice is brought within the reach of the poorest man, yet, at the same time, litigation is discouraged.

The attractions of this country are, if possible, even greater to the artist. It is impossible even with the most skilful word-painting for those who have seen to convey to those who have not seen, any adequate idea of the glories of Norway. There are fine mountains in Switzerland, but there is nowhere else such a combination of mountain and ocean—nowhere else in Europe does the snow-clad peak rise directly out of the sea—nowhere else will the traveller find that most distinguishing feature of Norway, the Fjord, guarded at its entrance by a breakwater of islands ; winding inland through forest-clad hills where the white stem of the silver birch gleams amid the sombre pines, and at whose feet lie the greenest of green pastures, dotted with quaint houses ; forcing its way farther still through the ever narrowing mountain gorges, down whose sides plunge, at one leap, countless torrents fed from the great ice fields far overhead. Nowhere else in Europe is there such a country of waterfalls as this ; not the petty spouts which Swiss hotel-keepers illuminate with red fire, after the device of the Italian Opera, for the benefit of well-dressed guests, discussing their twentieth course at the *table d'hôte* ; but cataracts of tremendous volume and force far away up among the mountains, requiring perhaps a whole day's journey to reach them. Above all, nowhere are there such sunsets as in the country of which we are speaking. The memory of one night in Norway makes one feel how powerless language is to describe the splendours of that evening glory of carmine, and orange, and indigo, which floods not only the heavens,

but the sea, and makes the waves beneath our keel a "flash of living fire." Language cannot paint that wonderful mystic light, so unspeakably soft and tender, which travels round the northern horizon, from west to east, so that one cannot tell where night ends or day begins. These are glories which surpass anything that Danby or Turner painted in their boldest moods. Yet neither is Norway a country of artists, nor do English artists betake themselves thither. The first fact is perhaps due to the comparative poverty of the Norwegian people, or rather to the absence of the very wealthy men who in England constitute the class of art-patrons. The second fact must be due to that want of energy and courage which makes our artists continue to paint over and over again the same scenes—the everlasting lake scenery, with its tame prettiness, or the everlasting grand canal at Venice, until we come almost to loathe the sight of those places, however skilfully painted. An English artist might make his fortune out of a summer in Norway, unless indeed he returned with a portfolio empty, through sheer despair of the possibility of transferring to canvas the grand features of the country of the Fjeld, the Fjord and the Foss.

Probably Norway will never be much frequented by ordinary tourists. The three days' sea voyage will always act as a deterrent to those who suffer from the *mal de mer*. True, they have an alternative in the land route by way of Belgium, North Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; but this is a very costly journey, and somewhat tedious. Then it cannot be denied that the tourist once within Norwegian territory will have often to put up with rough accommodation and scant fare. A great increase in the number of tourists would probably bring about some improvement in the first particular, but the second deficiency is not so easily supplied. The tourist to whom the *table d'hôte* is an important element in the day's programme, will certainly find little enjoyment in a country where (except in the capital) potatoes are the only vegetable grown, and these not to be obtained until the latter half of July; where fruit is almost unknown, where the supply of meat is precarious, and the traveller may have to live for days on fish, and be thankful if the supply of salmon or trout does not fail him. Women are now as venturesome as men on a special occasion, yet even the most enterprising ladies will think twice before they undertake a journey which involves entire exposure to the weather by day, and the constant companionship of fleas by night. The Norwegian flea is exceptionally large, prolific and energetic; but even he is

a mild tyrant compared with the mosquito, whose cruel ravages are known to the visitors of Northern Norway. The Norwegian carriage, the only suitable vehicle in which to traverse the country, is pleasant enough when the sun shines, but offers absolutely no protection when there is rain; and in Norway the clouds understand their business. Even ladies, however, though incapable of enduring much fatigue, may see many of the beauties of Norway if they will content themselves with those two districts which are at once the most beautiful and the most accessible, the Romsdal and the Hardanger Fjord. In the first is the little rustic inn of Aak, whereof the landlord is fast making his fortune, by reason of the high but deserved encomiums of Lady Di Beauclerk. In the Hardanger district the accommodation is more primitive; but Eidfjord offers most comfortable quarters, whence the Fjord may be explored, and whence the start is made for the most beautiful drive in Norway, that to Vossevangen, and by the magnificent Nærødal to Gudvangen, which is itself the starting point for the Sogne Fjord. The more venturesome will proceed up to the farthest arm of the Hardanger, and will find a week well spent in exploring the region around Odde. It is a day's excursion thence to the magnificent Skjæggedal Foss of which *Murray* is seemingly ignorant, and which competes with the Vöring Foss for the crown of merit as the finest waterfall in all Norway. From Odde, too, is a hard day's climb to the great ice field of the Folgefond, that enormous mass of ice and snow, which covers some 700 square miles. One of the most accessible glaciers in Norway is within an easy distance of Odde. The more difficult excursions were made by ladies last summer; some of whom, as the present writer can testify, surpassed their male companions in agility and endurance. Bergen again offers an excellent starting point for some of the finest Fjords, all of which can be reached without any further inconvenience than a voyage in steamers that might advantageously be cleaner. Mr. Forester writing in 1853 said:—

“The time is not come when even the great highways to Bergen and Thronðhem are open to female tourists. The resting places where decent accommodation can be obtained are still of very rare occurrence. For a lady to undertake such a journey of 300 or 400 miles in a carriage or vehicle which carries only one passenger, and is not more roomy than a park chaise, with equal exposure to the weather, would be preposterous.”

In sixteen years considerable improvement has been made,

so far as the "stations" or resting places are concerned. The great highways from Christiania are in this respect well supplied. But the railways, of which Mr. Forester went on to speak in the future tense, are still for the most part unmade; and with the exception of the first fifty miles from Christiania, which is traversed by a railway, and the subsequent seventy miles on the Mjösen Lake, traversed by a steamer, the journey to Bergen Thronjhem, or Aak, must be made in the open carriole, unless, indeed, a party of tourists prefer the clumsy four-wheeled three-horsed carriage.

The mode of travelling in Norway has been described frequently in books; yet a few words on this subject from one who has very lately journeyed in that country may not be unacceptable. If the traveller is going at all off the main routes (and he will miss, with a few exceptions, the most beautiful parts of Norway, if he do not), he should be provided with a moderate stock of biscuits, some preserved meat and a little jam to supply the lack of vegetable food, some tea or cocoa; and, for the outer man, a water-proof coat, and a similar covering for his knapsack or portmanteau. If he is not accompanied by a lady, there is not the smallest occasion for him to encumber himself with a vehicle, for he will be sure to find one at every "station." True, these conveyances are often very shabby, but even the high road through the Gudbrandsdal, the most frequented road in Norway, is not Rotten Row, and he will find a majority of travellers using carrioles or carts no better than his. If he has a lady with him, he should obtain a carriole for her at Mr. Bennett's, in Christiania. For this, and for the harness and accompanying apparatus, he will have to deposit ten pounds; and should he return to Christiania in about a month, he will receive two-thirds of the money back again. In fact, he buys the carriole and harness, and resells it for so much less a sum as will represent what he would have paid for the hire. The disadvantages of being encumbered with a carriole are, that it almost compels the owner to return to Christiania; and that it involves a considerable expense and trouble in the transferring the vehicle from steamer to steamer and in conveying it by the boats on the inland lakes where there are no steamers. The main roads of Norway are admirably made and kept. They are, in fact, fine specimens of engineering, which are increased every year, under the wise liberality of the Government; away from these well-trodden routes, the roads are often exceedingly steep and rough, and that over Moldestad hill is probably the steepest highway in Europe. At intervals along the road,

generally about eight English miles apart, there are "station" houses, at which horses and vehicles are kept for travellers. These are provided compulsorily by the farmers, who are paid according to a fixed tariff. This, on the main roads, where the stations are "fast," is about twopence per English mile for a horse, and about threepence for a horse and vehicle, and harness. On the other roads, wherever the stations are not "fast," the charge is one-third less; but then twopence per horse has to be paid to the station-master for the trouble of ordering it. Should the traveller be pressed for time, or should he be travelling in a party of more than three, he would do wisely to send *forbiid*, that is an order for the number of horses and vehicles which he may require, and the time at which he wants them. As he has to pay a forfeit if he is more than an hour late, this arrangement somewhat restricts his freedom; and it may safely be omitted if he is not in urgent haste, or has only one or two companions. The "stations" generally provide bedrooms for travellers; but as the accommodation varies greatly, they will wisely consult the road-book for the selection of their resting places. This road-book is absolutely indispensable. It gives the authorised distance and charge from station to station; it describes each station, and conveys all necessary information about the steamers. An English edition is published every year, at Christiania, by Mr. Bennett; and, armed with this cheap little volume, *Murray*, which is all but useless, may be left at home in England. A traveller who is not bound to time will find from fifty to sixty miles a sufficient day's journey. He must expect to stop for half-an-hour at each station, and thus three or four hours of the day are accounted for. The Norwegian horses, though the surest-footed in the world, are not the swiftest, and will rarely do the Norsk mile (seven English miles) within the hour. The tariff of charge being fixed, and the road-book being always accepted as an unquestionable authority as to the length of the stage, it is quite possible to travel through Norway without knowing a word of the language. We need scarcely add that a knowledge of it will increase the pleasures and often the comforts of the journey.

On nearly all the steamers and in the principal towns, such as Christiania, Bergen, Throndjhem, and Molde, English is spoken. In fact, next to Norsk, English is the most useful language. It is more spoken than any other foreign tongue, except, perhaps, at Bergen, where, owing to the existence of an old German settlement, that language is widely spoken. French is simply useless. Nor is this surprising, for while

French is one of the Romance languages, and springs from the Latin, Norsk, English, and German spring from one common tongue, which is now spoken only in Iceland, and in one or two very remote regions of Norway. Modern Norsk is really Danish, and the Copenhagen newspapers are circulated throughout Norway as freely as if they had been published in Christiania. Some attempts have been made to restore the use of the old language, but these have not been successful. Probably, the cause of the failure is to be found, to some extent, in the lack of adaptability on the part of this language to modern wants. Nevertheless, while the head of an ordinary English household would find a difficulty in understanding Chaucer without a glossary, the Icelandic maid-servant of to-day not only understands, but speaks the language of four or five hundred years ago. Modern Norsk or Danish, being, like English, uninflected, is not difficult to learn. Travelling in Norway is facilitated by the honesty and the good temper of the people. Attempts at extortion are very rare, and the readiness with which the people at the stations set themselves to forward their visitors' comfort deserves all praise. Old tourists in Norway complain that travelling in that country is no longer as cheap as it was. There seems to be no doubt that on the more frequented roads the charges for food are higher than they were. Yet that these are not excessive may be gathered from the following instance, experienced by the present writer : At Ormeim, in the far-famed and much-frequented Romsdal, a dinner of fish and meat, beds, and a breakfast of fish and meat, were charged four marks (about 3s. 7d.) for two persons. True, the accommodation was very primitive, but there was little disposition to find fault with that, in view of one of the most picturesque waterfalls in the world. Other instances of similar charges might be given. It is only in Christiania, Bergen, Molde, and Hønefoss that they are considered at all high, and even there they are under the Swiss prices. Another great advantage which Norway possesses is the free access to all her grand natural spectacles. The writer could not but contrast last year's experience at the magnificent Norwegian waterfalls, which are guarded by no keepers, with the previous year's acquaintance with the army of showmen in the neighbourhood of Meyringen. There was not a single beggar to stretch out an itching palm in 1868 ; it was impossible to walk a hundred yards in 1867 without being beset by a hungry brood of mendicants, who, at the Rosenlaui glacier, developed into downright ruffianism needing personal chastisement. Fortunately for Norwegian tourists, that wretched

specimen of the British snob—the purse-proud citizen, who buys with a profuse expenditure of gold the outward homage of the people who inwardly despise him—is not likely to mar their comfort, nor to spoil a simple and honest race. Norway is not a country for the man who finds delight in the gaping admiration of the people that think him a lord. To such a man the *table d'hôte* is the one event of the day, and in Norway he would starve. Long may that country continue the land of scarcity; far distant be the time when it will form acquaintance with made dishes.

We have spoken of Norway as the land of the Fjord, the Foss, and the Fjeld. These are its most striking physical features. They are moreover intimately connected together. They are successive steps in “the world’s great altar-stairs,” “that lead” not indeed “through darkness,” but through beauty, “up to God.” The traveller makes his first acquaintance with Norway as he threads the mazes of the Fjord. Perchance it will happen to him, as it happened to the writer, to enter one of these mazes when the crimson-dyed horizon was glowing into burnished gold, when the intense brilliance of the twilight, that was neither wholly sunset nor wholly dawn, but partook of the beauty of both, flooded the whole northern and western sky, while, far away, in the south-east the full-orbed moon shone with metallic lustre; when the gentle breeze of summer came borne with a sigh from this enchanted-seeming land, and laden with the sweet fragrance of its dark pine forests; when the very idea of sleep seemed a sin, and every sense was aroused into new and quickened life by the magnificent apotheosis of colour, so infinitely beyond the power of imagination to conceive. Should it be one of the principal fjords, the traveller will have to pass the greater part of the day before he comes to the head of it. Arrived there, perhaps a hundred miles from the entrance, he will find a river roaring and tumbling into the fjord over great boulders of rocks. A mile or two farther on he will reach the shores of a wide fresh-water lake, a “Vand,” shut in by lofty mountains. The vand is some hundreds of feet above the fjord, which is of course on the level of the sea. But beyond the vand there is usually a very rapid ascent. It is nevertheless a long as well as a steep climb to the mountain tops. Arrived there, after, it may be, more than a day’s journey, the traveller finds himself, not on a peak or a ridge, but a wide waste of gently undulating moorland; this is the fjeld, the reservoir of all those streams which he saw pouring down the mountain side as he journeyed up the fjord. Wittich has aptly contrasted Norway

with Switzerland. The mountains in the latter country he compares to a ridge and furrow roof; the mountains in the former to the embrasures of a parapet. The chief difference between them lies in the enormous snow fields of Norway. There is no parallel in Switzerland to the Folgefond. These extensive table-lands, whether on the lower level of the fjelds, or on the higher level of the snow fields, will not, however, compare for beauty with the views even from the minor elevations of Switzerland. There is not in all Norway a mountain view to be compared with that from the Righi, still less with that from the *Æggischhorn*, least of all with that from any of the mountain peaks in the Monte Rosa district. In another particular Switzerland carries off the palm; the chalet is infinitely more picturesque than the säter. The säter can be compared only with the Irish cabin as it used to be in the worst days before the exodus. Yet here in this rude hut of earth and stone, with no furniture but one three-legged stool and a box, which being lined with hay is called a bed, the peasant girls pass the brief Norwegian summer, and spend their time to such good purpose, that when the first frosts come with the departure of August, they have laid up a store of butter and cheese that would move the envy of the dairy-woman in the fertile vale of Taunton.

The fact that Norway stretches through thirteen degrees of latitude, through more than 900 statute miles, implies a great variety of climate and produce. Paradoxical as it may seem, the winter is colder in the south than in the north. At Christiania, which is in the same latitude as the Shetland Islands, the sea is frozen hard. At the North Cape, which is about 300 miles above the Arctic Circle, it rarely, if ever, freezes. The explanation of the phenomenon was easy enough until within the last few weeks. That convenient solvent of all difficulties of climatology, the Gulf Stream, was credited with bestowing a temperate winter upon this part of the frigid zone. It was this kind messenger which came bringing the superfluous heat of the Mexican waters to the Lapps and the Quaens. But now this cherished belief has, like many another, been called in question, this idol of the cave has been overthrown. Undoubtedly, the Gulf Stream does flow past the western coast of Norway. Have not the trees of the American forests been stranded on the shores of Iceland? But the *savant* now tells us that the stream is neither broad enough nor deep enough to produce any sensible change of temperature. Undoubtedly the information is good news for the nervous, who feared that the piercing of

Panama would carry the Gulf Stream to the other side of the world—would give us, in exchange for our moist warm winter, the winter of China with the mercury frozen in the bulb for weeks together. We can, therefore, pardon the iconoclasts who have destroyed one creed without finding us another. Until they supply our need, we can only say that, judging from the experience of the Lapps and the Quaens, the frigid zone is not so very frigid after all. In spite of this, there is abundant climatic variety in Norway. If there are terrestrial causes as yet unknown for the tempering of the Arctic cold, there is an obvious celestial cause for the limitation of vegetable produce in a country where the winter lasts nine months, and the summer only half as many weeks. In latitude $58^{\circ} 9'$, according to M'Culloch, the average temperature is 45° , and there is no constant snow region. With the exception of peaches and apricots, English fruits will ripen, but have little flavour. The beech woods cease at lat. 59° , and the temperature has fallen one degree. Nevertheless, all kinds of grain grow. The plum does not ripen at lat. 60° . Between 60° and 61° the temperature falls to 43° on the coast, to 41° in the interior. The elm ceases, the oak is poor, but the fir, the birch, the hazel, and the aspen are still vigorous. Another degree farther north sees the wheat suffering adversity, and the ash almost disappear. Beyond 60° wheat will ripen only on sheltered spots near the coast, peas are precarious, cabbages will not come to perfection. Beyond 65° even the oats lose their courage, the pine degenerates, no fruit save the currant will ripen.

The farther north we travel, the more wonderfully rapid is the progress of vegetation when the snows have fairly disappeared. In the neighbourhood of Hammerfest, the most northern town in Europe, the hay will be carried in the fields that a month before were covered with the white pall of winter. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the grass may be seen to grow. The fact that the sun does not disappear below the horizon prevents the atmosphere from becoming damp during the summer nights—if nights they can be called—and greatly assists farming operations. Nevertheless fine weather cannot be counted upon with certainty, and so the husbandmen literally hang their hay up to dry. They erect hurdles—hay horses they have been facetiously yet correctly called—over which the hay is thrown, and, being then thoroughly exposed to the atmosphere, is quickly dried. In Bergen and the neighbourhood the climate is peculiarly unsettled. No fewer than seventy-three inches of rain fall annually in Bergen, five

times as much as at Upsala, on the east coast of Sweden. The Bergeners are compensated by the mildness of their winter, for their average temperature is then thirteen degrees higher than that of Christiania. In the interior the cold is far more severe than on the coast. But the frost otherwise has its compensations. It converts into firm highways the countless lakes; it enables the people by the aid of their long snow shoes to perform journeys of great length with much rapidity, it facilitates the transport of produce in the districts where the roads are bad. In some parts, however, the snow renders locomotion almost impossible. In such districts, if a man dies during the winter his corpse is preserved, either in ice or salt, until it is possible to reach the churchyard. Even then the pathway is often so narrow that the dead body has to be fastened astride upon a horse, and thus rides to its own burial. The ghastly tales that have been told of cavalcades of corpses proceeding to a funeral are thus founded on fact.

The land system in Norway has long been the admiration of political economists. Laing, Kay, Thornton, and Mill, have expressed their high approval of it. The land is the property of those who cultivate it. It is *udal* (the German *adel*, noble) as opposed to feudal. The occupier owns it absolutely, instead of being a tenant at will as in this country, and he has to perform no service to any seigneur or lord of the manor, as in British North America. There is no law of primogeniture. The children inherit equally. Of course it may be proved mathematically that in process of time the land will be infinitely divided, until the descendants in the n^{th} generation have to partition a single tree among them equally. Of course, no such minute subdivision actually occurs. Since, in the first place, where there is gavel-kind early and improvident marriages do not take place, and children are fewer; and in the next place, marriage is constantly counteracting the effect of death. Just as the one event tends towards division, so the other tends towards amalgamation; for, the daughters inheriting as well as the sons, the bride brings to her husband a dowry in the shape of an estate, which is added to his. There is, however, one provision which is by no means for the public advantage. All the kindred of the *udaller* are *odelsbaarn* to the land, and have *odelsbaarn ret.* These terms, which are not only Norsk, but Scotch of the Shetland Islands, mean that the *baarn* or kinsmen (whence the word bairn) have a *ret* or right to the land of which the *udaller* or actual possessor cannot deprive them. He may sell his estate to a stranger; but the *baarn*

may, if they please, compel the stranger to sell it to them for the price he has paid. Formerly there was no limit of time as to this power. The result was that the tenure of property was thereby rendered so uncertain that the Government found it necessary to restrict the right to five years. Yet even this modified *ret* must clearly be detrimental to any improvement of the land. No one would buy an estate and lay out a large sum of money in developing it, if in any time during five years he was liable to be ousted with no compensation for his improvements, and with nothing but his original purchase money to solace him.

The Norwegian farms consist of three divisions; the in-field, on which are grown the wheat crops and the best hay; the mark, or out-field, for pasturing cattle; and the *säter*, already referred to, which may be thirty or forty miles off, and upon the moorland attached to which the cattle feed during the short summer. An average farm will contain about 290 acres without the *säter*; the rent of it would be 200 dollars (about £45), the taxes 36 dollars (about £8), and the value 4,000 dollars (about £888). The soil being for the most part sandy, the wheat crops are liable to be burnt, or to be injured by premature frosts. These frequently occur during the last week in August, and the three closing nights of the month are called "iron nights," and too often blast the fairest harvest. Rye is the most cultivated cereal; next to that comes oats, out of which is made the *fladbrød*, the large thin loaves which constitute the staple bread of the country. After these crops come flax and potatoes. Other vegetables are almost unknown. It is probably owing to this cause and to the large consumption of salt fish that scorbutic diseases are so common in Norway. At Bergen, one of the most noted institutions is the hospital of lepers, who present a most ghastly spectacle. A more agreeable subject of contemplation are the corn-banks which exist in many parts of Norway. These banks supply the absence of markets. They are magazines in which the farmer who has more corn than he needs to supply his wants, deposits the surplus. During the time it remains there he receives at the rate of one-eighth of increase per annum, so that if he deposits eight bushels he can take out nine at the end of a year. The corn deposited is lent to other farmers who have not enough: they pay for it at the rate of one-fourth of increase per annum, so that if they borrow eight bushels for a year they will have to repay ten bushels. The profit defrays the cost of management, such as the expense of building and the salary of the clerk. The work of the farm

is carried on by "housemen." These are married farm servants who hold cottages with land on the skirts of each farm, at a fixed rent, for two lives—that of the cottar tenant, and that of his widow—under the obligation of furnishing a certain number of days' work at a certain rate of wages. The landlord cannot remove them so long as the stipulated rent and work are paid. Pauperism is very little known in Norway. But every farmer is bound to provide a home and board for a pauper either throughout the whole or portion of a year, and in return the pauper (who is usually old or infirm) gives such slight assistance on the farm as he can render. It may seem at first sight strange that there should be any emigration from a state in which the land-laws are so favourable, and the taxes are so light, and the country so sparsely peopled. Yet, though the whole population of Norway is considerably less than half of that of London, it must be remembered that only a small proportion of the country is habitable. Professor Munch, the chief of Norwegian savants, states that not more than one-tenth of the country can be tilled. Consequently there is a numerous and steady emigration of the peasantry to the United States, especially to Wisconsin, in which state there is a large Norwegian colony. The connection between the two countries is very apparent to the traveller in Norway. He will find in most of the "stations" engravings of battles during the American civil war, engravings in which the Federals are always successful over the Confederates.

From the land we pass to the sea, from the *bonder*, as the peasant farmers are called, to the fishermen. These form a very important and numerous class in Norway. The approach of a fishing *jagt* will make itself apparent to the nose as well as to the eye, and Mr. Mathieu Williams, author of *Through Norway with a Knapsack*, avers that he has been awakened out of a sound sleep by the odour of one of these fishing fleets, as it neared the steamer in which he was. The craft used in fishing are, as he says, "not addicted to high speed, but they are indifferent to any amount of sea, and if they struck upon a rock they would probably rebound and go on as if nothing had happened." It was in such vessels, he supposes, that the "old sea-kings crossed the Atlantic and traded with America centuries before Columbus discovered the New World." The fisheries are carried on along the whole coast of Norway, from the Naze, its southernmost point, past the North Cape to the Varanger Fjord, close to the Russian frontier. They are divided into three distinct groups: the Loffoden, the Romsdal, and the Finmark fisheries. The first of these is the

most important. It is conducted in the great West Fjord. This is the most extensive on the coast of Norway, and has a communication with the ocean independent of its sixty miles of broad entrance by numerous narrow sounds. In this fjord the water is so deep that the lead will scarcely reach the bottom. It is between these islands that the far-famed Mälstrom is found. Its evil reputation is quite undeserved. "This whirlpool, which our geography books used to tell us would suck in big whales, to say nothing of ships, which approached within a mile or two of it, is so little thought of by the inhabitants," says Mr. Crowe in his consular report, "that they pass and repass it in their frail vessels at all states of the tide, except at certain times in the winter season, and, far from drawing in whales and other things that come within its range, it appears to be a favourite resort of the fish of the country, and the fishermen reap a rich piscatorial harvest from its bosom." In fact, the greatest rate of the tide at the Mälstrom even in winter does not exceed six miles an hour.

The Loffoden fishery gives lucrative employment during three or four months of the year to nearly 30,000 persons. In the beginning of February the fish set in from the ocean, and occupy the banks in the West Fjord. The fish are caught partly by line, and partly by net. The inspectors appointed by the Government portion out the fjord between the two sets of fishermen, and line fishers have the inside, and net fishers the outside of a given boundary. The fishermen work in companies, each of which has its own fishing ground regularly marked out. The inspectors have no longer the same control over the fishing gear that they used to have. They are, however, invested with large powers as maritime police, and have authority to treat summarily all disputes and offences in connection with the fisheries. During the period from January 16th to April 14th, 1866, they dealt with 141 offences, of which by far the larger number (110) consisted of drawing nets before the morning signal, and placing them out before the evening signal. Fines were levied to the amount of 349 dollars, the greater portion of which fell to the State, which incurred an expense of 8,457 dollars in superintending this fishery. Besides the inspectors, medical officers are provided by the Government, and they reported that in about 33,000 persons there were thirty-six cases of typhus, and sixteen of pneumonia, and that thirteen of these patients died. After careful investigation, the Government have come to the conclusion that the fewer restrictions they

imposed the better ; and as the tendency of legislation is to remove all existing barriers, it is to be hoped that the absurd regulation by which fishermen are forbidden to take down stock fish (the cod dried on poles) before June 12th, or to hang it up after April 14th, will be abrogated. The object of the regulation was to secure a uniform quality in the curing of the fish ; but as the weather is variable, it is manifest that the prescribed period may be too short in one year, and too long in another. The stock fish are not split, but are dried whole, and are exported to Roman Catholic Germany, Austria, and Italy. All cod caught after April 14th are prepared as klip fish, that is, they are split open, salted down, and packed flat. The visitor to Norway may see them lying about on the rocks and islands of the fjord baking in the hot sun. When properly dried they are as hard as a board, and require soaking for a couple of days before they are fit to eat. The klip fish go to Spain. The salt fish go to Russia, and so much importance does the Russian Government attach to this source of food-supply, that they have specially exempted the Norwegian raw and salted fish from duty in ports of the White Sea. The cod fishery has become a more lucrative employment since the oil obtained from the livers has been so extensively used for medicinal purposes. The oil manufacture has become a most important industry at Bergen. Beside the Loffoden fishery are the Romsdal and the Finmark fisheries. These are not under the inspection of the Government. The total yield of cod in 1866 was about forty millions, which, computed at the current prices on the fishing grounds, represent about one million sterling.

It is not, however, only from the cod that cod-liver oil is obtained. It is derived largely from the shark. Norway lying, as a large part of it does, within the Arctic Circle, is yet visited by two inhabitants of the tropical world, the shark and the mosquito. The visitor to Hammerfest is sorely troubled by the latter creature ; the Norwegian fishermen give a good account of the former. There are no fewer than four specimens of the shark tribe in these high latitudes, and they extend throughout the Arctic Ocean. The fishery commences at 68° and extends to the North Cape. The banks on which the fish are found are not quite continuous, as occasional breaks, or deeps, are met with. These are supposed to be valleys or rifts like the fissures on the mainland, which now form the deep fjords, and it is thought that the banks are simply continuations of the mountain ridges. The vessels employed on the shark fishery range from twenty to thirty tons, and are

manned with a crew of sixteen. They lie at anchor on the banks, with 150 to 200 fathoms of water, and a box perforated with holes, and containing refuse blubber, is attached to the line, so that the oil escaping it may act as a decoy to the main bait, which consists of some fish or of seal blubber. As soon as the shark is hauled to the surface of the water, a smart blow is struck upon his nose, which stuns him. A large hook at the end of a pole, attached to a strong tackle, is then driven into the fish, and by this means he is hoisted upon the deck. The liver is then taken out, the stomach is inflated with wind, so as to keep the fish afloat when it is thrown back into the sea. In this way the fishermen suppose that no harm is done to the fishing grounds. The length of the shark varies from ten to eighteen feet. Its value depends upon the size of the liver, and the yield varies from fifteen to sixty gallons of fine oil for each fish. The longest species of the shark is found below the 60th parallel of latitude, and is caught with a harpoon. It is sometimes forty feet long, and usually appears during the hottest weather. The fish is seen basking on the surface of the water with one fin erect, and as he usually follows a boat the fishermen suppose that he mistakes the sail for the fin of a fellow shark. Catching him is a work of some peril, for no sooner does he feel the harpoon than he dives, and unless the line attached to the weapon is allowed to run out very rapidly, he would drag the vessel under water. A fat fish usually gets exhausted in four hours, a lean fish will sometimes hold out for twenty-four. There is one kind of shark which is considered rather a delicacy, and having been dried it is exported to Sweden, where it is much appreciated.

The diminution of the sharks has led to a large increase in the number of herrings. The cod fishery employs a larger capital; but the herring fishery is carried on over a larger extent of coast. It is divided into three seasons, the winter or spring herring fishery, the summer herring fishery, and the pilchard herring fishery. The first of these has from the earliest times been a source of wealth to the Scandinavian sea-board, and it is the most important of the three. This fishery has been subject to some strange suspensions. Although since the ninth century it had been looked upon as a regular source of wealth, in 1567 the fish disappeared altogether, and it is not until 1700 that we have any authentic accounts of an abundant and regular fishery. From that date until 1808 it fluctuated, with longer and shorter intervals. In that year the herring entirely left the coast of Sweden, and has not been seen there since; but since

that time the supply on the coast of Norway has been regular and abundant. The most extensive fishing grounds lie between the Naze and Bergen. The best fishings begin in January and end in March. The shrill cries of the sea-birds and the spouting of the whales denote the first approach of the welcome visitor. The average annual yield is about 500 million fish, which are worth free on board in a Norwegian port about £650,000. The number of persons interested in the Norwegian sea fisheries is about 150,000, or more than a tenth of the total population. The fishermen actually engaged in catching the fish sail up and down the coast, according to the reports which they hear of the so-called "sights," that is, straw herrings, sea-birds, whales, &c. Formerly the great distance which they had to go before reaching the shoals led to constant disappointments, and the catch was frequently lost for want of hands to capture the fish. Recently telegraph stations have been erected at the principal points along the coast, and the inspectors cause daily notices of the appearance and position of the shoals to be posted at each station. "Field" telegraphs are kept in readiness to be joined on to the main line, and thus the slightest movement of the shoals is carefully watched and communicated. "It is a curious sight," says Mr. Crowe, "to witness the sudden exodus of thousands of fishermen, with their train of salters and buyers, with boats, barrels, and appliances, hastening to a distant place at the call of the wire. The men seem to prize highly this valuable coadjutor, and when the catch is attributable chiefly to its agency, they call the fish "telegraph herring." Sweden, Russia, and the Baltic ports are the chief markets for the Norwegian herring. The Scotch and the Dutch herring command a higher price than the Norwegian, and the last is unable to obtain a footing in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea ports.

England divides with Norway the European reputation for sea fisheries; but Norway stands foremost in its celebrity as the head-quarters of the salmon and the trout. The rivers of Scotland and Wales will not vie with the Scandinavian rivers in the abundance or the size of their fish. Numerous works have been written upon this branch of Norwegian sport by enthusiastic anglers. The volume written by *The Oxonian in Norway* (Mr. Metcalfe), and the late Rev. Henry Newland, are especially full of information on this subject. Lady Di Beauclerk in her very sketchy and superficial work has something to say on this point; and as both she and her mother, the Duchess of St. Albans, attained some notoriety as anglers

during their stay in Romsdalen, they speak with a certain degree of authority. Unfortunately for the piscator of moderate means, the luxury of salmon fishing in Norway is every year becoming less attainable. Trout, indeed, he may still catch, and if he is content with the smaller fish he will find plentiful amusement. But if he require the excitement of a battle-royal with a salmon of 30-lb., he must be prepared to pay for it. The Udaller has discovered two facts of late years—that Englishmen are very fond of sport, and that many of them are ready to pay handsomely in order to enjoy it. Consequently the rivers that used to be free to the sportsman now have to be hired by him. The rent, moreover, is constantly increasing. £100 is a very low figure now, as much as £500 is paid for some rivers, and as the tenant is allowed to retain only one-fifth of the fish he catches, he is really not only paying handsomely to, but working hard for, the fortunate owner of the river. The whole money does not go into his pocket: there is a middle man, the London fishing-tackle maker, who rents of him, and sub-lets, and, of course, makes a substantial profit to cover the risk. The result is that the selling price of salmon has so advanced of late years that at Christiansand, the port nearest to England, it is as high as a shilling the pound. It is considerably lower in the interior, as well it may be when the traveller in reply to his question "*Kan jeg faa noget at spise?*" (Can I get anything to eat?) receives the same reply day after day in the shape of "*Lax*" (salmon), or, more probably, "*Lax-forelle*" (salmon-trout), until he has learnt thoroughly to sympathise with the apprentices of Exeter, who, a hundred years ago, stipulated in their indentures that they were not to be required to eat salmon more than twice a week. The Norwegians are almost as dainty in their way. They have a very strong objection to eating fish which is not brought alive to their doors. They are a people of extremes in this particular. Either their fish must be swimming about or it must be dried to the consistency of a mahogany table.

It may fairly be doubted if the "ramrod" will find himself repaid by a visit to Norway, even though the "fishing-rod" should be. There are still birds to be shot: there are grouse, plover, capercaillie, blackcock, and ptarmigan; but, as Mr. Laing remarked thirty-five years ago, the birds are so few in proportion to the extent of the country that one has need of seven-league boots to get a good bag. During the last twenty-four years game has been protected by law during certain seasons of the year. The game laws extend also to

the reindeer and the elk. These scarcely need protection. They are so well able to take care of themselves that a sportsman may spend a summer on the fjelds and not come within range of one of them. In Lapland they are to be seen domesticated in herds of perhaps 200; but from the old stalking-grounds of the Dovrefjeld and the Fillefjeld they have all but disappeared. The bear is still more rarely seen in any parts of Norway which are accessible to ordinary persons. The reward of five dollars offered by the Government for every bear taken has, probably, led this by no means unsagacious animal to betake himself to districts where the blood-money is not likely to be earned. There is another animal which is much less formidable as to size, but is a great deal more unpopular than the bear. This is the lemming, a species of field rat, concerning which the most extraordinary tales are told. The lemming is as hateful to the Norwegian as the frog was to the Egyptian, and is really almost as destructive as the locust. He travels in large armies, he crosses glaciers, climbs mountains, swims rivers, and all the time they are travelling he and his companions are in constant danger of falling victims to the hawk, the owl, and to man. There used to be a special lemming litany, which contained a most elaborate curse upon this little creature, a curse which for its stringency was worthy of the most orthodox theologian denouncing a heretic. Even now there is a remembrance of this prayer or exorcism kept up in Fillefjeld, only instead of praying and cursing on Lemming-day the people simply abstain from work and go to sleep. For the lemming there is no game law. Indeed, as regards game, properly so called, the provisions of the law are very loosely observed. It is scarcely possible that they should be otherwise in a country where the station-master has often no other means of supplying the wants of his guests than by the harvest of his gun. In one instance the law seems to be strictly enforced, in that of the eider duck. It is rigorously forbidden to kill this bird, for it is too valuable a member of society to be butchered to make an Englishman's holiday. The eider duck builds its nest of marine plants and lines it with down of exquisite softness, which the female plucks from its own breast. When she has stripped herself, her mate follows her example. Each nest during the breeding season produces about a quarter of a pound of down when it has been picked and cleaned. It is so firm and elastic that the same quantity which can be pressed between the two hands will serve to stuff a quilt. One of these quilts is always considered a suitable offering from a lover to his betrothed.

There is one produce of Norway which deserves special notice. This country is the head-quarters of the ice-trade. Wenham Lake is in North America, but "Wenham Lake ice" comes from the neighbourhood of Christiania. The company which was started several years ago to sell American lake ice found that there was so much waste in the voyage across the Atlantic, that it was necessary to look out for a supply nearer home. The tourist in Switzerland gets his ice from the glacier-fed streams that come down from the mountains, bearing congealed masses, which the waiter cleverly fishes out of the water just before the *table d'hôte*. Manifestly it was impossible to convey these fragments of the glaciers of Mont Blanc across Europe to London dinner-tables. The Wenham Company, therefore, turned their attention to Norway. In that country they found ice of the finest quality largely consumed. It is even put into the water which is supplied to travellers on the railway, between Christiania and Lake Mjösen. As we have already mentioned, the winter is much more severe in the south than in the north of Norway, and it was, therefore, in the vicinity of the capital that the company found that for which they sought. Near Dröback, on the Christiania Fjord, they purchased a large lake of fresh water, which was generally frozen to a considerable depth during the long winter. In order that the water might be kept perfectly pure, they bought up the bordering land, and they rigidly forbid the use of any manure upon it, and prevent any surface drainage from flowing into the lake. When the ice-harvest season has arrived, ice-ploughs divide out the ice into squares. Wedges are then driven in, and the surface is thus broken up into blocks. These are conveyed away into store-houses, and are sprinkled with sawdust to prevent them from freezing into one gigantic mass as they would otherwise do. The same precaution is used in shipping the ice to England. There its exceeding purity and freshness secure for it a comparatively high price, and though ice has not yet become the daily luxury of the middle classes, no upper class dinner-table would be thought complete without it. Perhaps if we had a few more summers like that of last year it would be considered indispensable by all classes, and the company would find its business so increased as to be compelled, if not to pull down its barns and build greater, at least to purchase additional lakes in Norway. Our American visitors would then cease to complain of the absence of a commodity which custom has rendered almost indispensable to them.

As regards the *physique* of its people, Norway is a country of

extremes. The tourist, by one of Messrs. Wilson's steamers, from Hull to Christiania, makes his first acquaintance with Norwegians at Christiansand. Traversing the rectangular streets of this somewhat fine town, he is struck by the tallness of the inhabitants. Men over six feet high seem to be the rule. In fact, the average Norwegian is as much taller than the average Englishman as the latter is than the average Frenchman. It becomes more of a mystery than ever why Norwegian beds should always be less than six feet long. In fact, the people of Southern Norway are so like the English, that no casual observer seeing the two together would notice any difference between them save that of height. The dress is the same, and the girls at Christiansand and Christiania might have attired themselves at a shop in Oxford Street. It is necessary to go into the interior for some distance before the tourist sees any of those varied and handsome costumes which are displayed in the photograph shops of the capital. In the Tellemarken, and in the Hardanger district, the costumes are particularly elaborate and picturesque. It is only in the former district that the men thus array themselves. A Tellemarken peasant, in his Sunday's best, calls up remembrance of the English cavaliers, whereas in Hardanger he wears an ordinary boatman's dress. In Romsdalen and Gudbrandsdalen the male peasants wear a scarlet cap, which makes them very conspicuous. Nothing, however, will compare with the snow-white wing of many plaits which the Hardanger matron wears on her head. The maiden must be content to go bare-headed, with pigtails hanging down, and tied with ribbons. But the married woman arrays herself in a stomacher of matchless bead-work, and in the aforesaid head-dress, which recalls, though it is not quite so wonderful as, the caps of the women in Normandy and Brittany. Yet, after all, the dress is a secondary matter; there is the far more important one of race. The Lapps in the extreme north are as short and stunted as the Southern Norwegians are tall. The two people are altogether different in origin as well as in appearance. His stunted form and Chinese eyes, and dark complexion, are sure signs that the Lapp belongs to the Slavonic family, just as the blonde hair and the sanguine tint of skin denote membership of the Teutonic. The Quaens are the gipsies of Scandinavia, whose origin will puzzle the ethnologist. Both Norwegians and Lapps are remarkable for their honesty. The tourist may leave his luggage upon his carriage all night in the open highway. It is only straps and whips which seem too much for Norsk virtue.

The Lapps differ from their fellow-countrymen in being very nomadic. They wander from place to place with their herds of reindeer, and as their huts are by no means costly erections, they have not any counter attraction to keep them stationary. Fond as they are of moving their homes, the Lapps are exceedingly attached to their country. Those who have been brought to England, and have remained here for some time, have never forgotten their birthplace, and have returned thither on some favourable opportunity. On the other hand, the Norwegian of the south does not travel much in his own country, is kept by his farm in one place, yet it is he who makes the long voyage across the Atlantic, he who peoples Wisconsin. In point of education and civilisation the Lapps are centuries behind the Norwegians. In one respect the fact is greatly to the credit, in another it is greatly to the discredit of the latter people. It is creditable that a race so "weak, simple and gentle," as Mr. Mathieu Williams has described the Lapps to be, should never have been molested by their more powerful neighbours. Had they been Maoris, and the Norwegians Englishmen, the fate of these Arctic inhabitants would have been very different. True, it may be said that in a country so sparsely peopled as Norway there is not the same reason for a collision of races as there is in the colonies which we have peopled, and where the natural population has disappeared before the colonists, by what men like Mr. Roebuck choose to consider an inevitable law. Nevertheless, the Lapps have property which is not without attractions to Norwegian eyes. A wealthy Lapp will possess from 1,000 to 2,000 reindeer, and the value of these animals is as well understood in the south as well as in the north. But there is the reverse to this picture. The Lapps have been let alone, and they have been too much let alone. If the Storting has not passed laws to their disadvantage, it has done scarcely anything for them. Except that a few missionaries have of late years visited them, the Lapps have been left almost entirely without either spiritual or secular education. Even when missionaries did visit them, the results were at first most disastrous, and the conversion of the people to Christianity was accompanied by acts of violence, including even murder. The ringleaders of the riot in which these lamentable transactions took place, were tried, two were executed and eight were condemned to penal servitude for life. This was, perhaps, a worse punishment than death to men accustomed to incessant wanderings. Four of the eight soon pined away and died, the rest when they

were visited by Mr. Bowden appeared to have become contented with their lot.

Lutheranism is the religion of Norway. The country is divided into five bishoprics, and 336 parishes. Extensive as these parishes must be, when the average size of one is 362 square miles, several parishes are frequently held by one incumbent. This undesirable state of things is due in great measure to the Reformation. Whatever may have been the advantages of that event so far as doctrinal teaching is concerned, there is no doubt that Norway suffered from it so far as the external organisation of the Church is concerned. Few countries, as the late Mr. Newland has pointed out in his *Forest Scenes in Norway and Sweden*, have endured such extensive spoliation of ecclesiastical property. Three hundred years ago the people had to choose between an ill-paid clergy of inferior social position and a well-paid clergy with unmanageably large parishes. They chose the latter alternative. As a consequence, parishes became amalgamated into districts, the pastors became the most wealthy inhabitants therein, and proper church work became simply impossible. A parish priest gets, on an average, from £200 to £380, besides a large glebe; a bishop receives about £900 a year; and if these figures seem small as compared with those which prevail in the Church of England, it must be remembered that money will purchase at least, twice the amount of commodities in Norway that it will purchase in England. With such extensive districts as we have described, it is manifestly impossible that there can be regular weekly celebrations of divine service. In some districts the churches of all the amalgamated parishes are still kept in repair, and in those of lesser importance, the *annexkyrker*, as they are called, service is occasionally performed as a protest in behalf of their spiritual rights on the part of the parishioners. As the clergy are eligible to the Norwegian Parliament, and being the best educated and the wealthiest inhabitants of a parish, are frequently elected, the difficulty of securing effectual parochial supervision is still further increased. The Government attempts to meet the case of a rector absent on his parliamentary duties by supplying the parish with a substitute for so long as the rector sits in the Storting. The relations between the Church and the State are in no country, save the Papal States, so closely identified as they are in Norway. At the same time we have Mr. Newland's testimony that nowhere is the standard of popular education so high, nowhere is the standard of popular morality so low; nowhere is the respect for religion

so great, nowhere is the ignorance of religion so profound. Mr. Newland, as a member of the Anglo-Catholic party, had his explanation for this state of things. Norway, as he said, is not in communion with England. Strictly speaking, neither the Norwegian nor the Danish Church is a church at all, but is only a religious establishment. Of Sweden he had doubts. Everything—valid orders, valid sacraments, the presence of the Holy Spirit—depended upon an historical statement the accuracy of which it is now impossible to ascertain.

"At the Reformation, Matthias, Bishop of Strengnas, and Vincent, Bishop of Skara, had been beheaded by Christiern, and on the other side Canute the Archbishop, and Peter, Bishop of Westeras, had been beheaded by his rival Gustavus, so that at the final Diet of Westeras, when the decision was finally given for the Reformation, only four bishops were present, of whom it is said that only Bishop Brask had been duly consecrated; two others, Haraldsen and Semmar, being only bishops-elect. The results of that diet caused Brask to go into voluntary exile, and as all communion with Rome was thereby broken off, the question of the succession hinges on the fact that Gustavus had previously sent Bishop Magnussen, elect of Skara, to be consecrated at Rome. This fact has been questioned."

It is an interesting archæological question, doubtless, though when Mr. Newland attempts to make it a theological one, he seems to be doing his utmost to parody the doctrine of "the Succession." For Norway there is not even the remotest possibility of being a part of the Catholic Church that there is for Sweden. There is not even a question as to whether a Bishop Magnussen did or did not take an excursion to Rome. Consequently the Swedes do not feel themselves at liberty to communicate in Norwegian churches, although they and Mr. Newland did not object to be present at *ottesang* (matins), *aften sang* (vespers), and even at *högmässa* (high mass).

While the author of *Forest Scenes* attributes the low spiritual life of Norway to the fact that the Norwegian bishops did not take the trouble to go to Rome three centuries ago, it may fairly be doubted if it is not due rather to the almost entire absence of dissent, and to the thorough identification of the Church with the State. It cannot be said that the Norwegians are intolerant, yet the Norsk Wesley met with as little favour from the State as his English prototype from the Church. Hans Nielsen Hauge (born 1771) endeavoured to stir up the people, and created a species of revival among the peasantry. He was, perhaps, rather Calvinistic in his views, but certainly did not intend to secede from the Church, or to induce other

persons to do so. But he was accused of exciting his hearers against the clergy, and they succeeded in getting a royal commission appointed to inquire into his alleged heresy. The commission sat nine years, and during the whole of that time Hauge was in prison; and at the end of it he was sentenced to a further term of two years' imprisonment, the payment of all costs, and a fine of 5,000 rix-dollars. During his seclusion he read many theological books, and these, or else his punishment, so far modified his opinions, that when he came out of prison he abandoned his wandering life, and settled down on a farm near Christiania. He died forty-five years ago, but the sect still exists; and their religious service is the subject of one Tidemand's best known pictures. Another sect was founded at Skien, by Vicar Lammers, who actually seceded from the Church. He declared against infant baptism, substituting for it the laying on of hands: he celebrated the Holy Communion once a month, each person taking the elements for himself, and no one being compelled to make confession, or to receive absolution previously; he considered marriage a civil contract; and he buried the dead in solemn silence. It should be said, to the credit of the Norwegian Church, that if it is somewhat rigorous against schism, it does not generally induce schism by over-strictness. Mr. Metcalfe, in his very interesting volumes, *The Oxonian in Norway*, points out that when a layman has a desire to preach, and is qualified to do so, the clergy place no hindrance in his way, but actually announce his intention, and offer facilities for their people to hear him. In this way the Norwegian Church utilises that lay energy which the English Church has so unwisely rejected, to the great increase of seceders from her communion. Romanism has scarcely any hold in Norway. There is one Roman Catholic chapel in Christiania, but this is frequented mainly by foreigners. At Bergen there is a curious old church called the German church, and in which until last year service was conducted in the German language for the benefit of the descendants of the Hanseatic colony, which for a long time conducted most of the commerce of that part. The Quakers have a very small following in Norway, chiefly at Stavanger. It arose from the circumstance that certain Norwegian prisoners in England, during the wars with Napoleon, were visited by some Quakers, who showed them so much kindness that when the prisoners returned home they took their benefactors' religion with them. Since then the Mormons have obtained some considerable standing in Norway. The Norwegian Church has its differences of opinion,

but they constitute rather schools of thought than rival parties. That which answers to the English High Church party had Grundtvig, the hymn-writer, for its leader, while Mynster led the Low Church party.

One of the strongest supports of clerical influence in Norway, and, perhaps, the principal source of unity in religious matters, is the rite of Confirmation. To this the utmost importance is attached. It is not only the ordeal requisite for admission to the Holy Communion, but it is also the passport to all employments in civil life. No one who has not been confirmed can hold any public office; practically such person would find it almost impossible to obtain private employment. The fact that he had not been confirmed would imply either mental or moral incapacity. So well is this understood, that in advertisements of persons or places wanted, the word "confirmed" is used where we should use the word experienced or adult. Even in the tariff of food on board a steamer, a different price is asked for "confirmed" and for "unconfirmed" passengers. At the same time confirmation is no mere form administered as a matter of course. It bears no likeness to the reception of the Communion with us in the old days, before the repeal of our Test and Corporation Acts. With us the Sacrament was prostituted for political purposes. With the Norwegians the rite is made the completion of the youth's mental and moral training. The utmost pains are bestowed by the clergy in preparing their catechumens. For six months prior to confirmation there are weekly classes at the *præstgaard* (rectory), at which all candidates are expected to be present, and are present, even though they should have to travel twenty miles. Arrived at the *præstgaard*, the two sexes are arranged in different portions of the room, and are then taught and examined. It is not until the *præst* is well satisfied of the candidates' fitness that he will consent to their being confirmed. The rite is rendered the more impressive by the fact that it is administered by the parochial clergy. Instead of the catechumens being brought up, as in the English Church, to a bishop whom they have never seen before, whom they may never see again, who is ignorant of their names, and cannot possibly take any interest in them; they appear before the clergyman who has been preparing them for the past half-year, who has known them all their lives, and who is in very fact a "father in God" to them. Very solemn and very simple is the service. "Say, Ole Olessen (speaks the pastor, naming each candidate in turn), will you resist the devil and all his works, and keep God's holy will and

commandments so long as you shall live?" The candidate answers, "Yes." "Well, give me your hand," replies the pastor, and taking it as a pledge of sincerity, he places his hand on the candidate and administers the blessing. The funeral service is less edifying than confirmation. It is considered an essential part of the former rite that the clergyman should pour mould upon the coffin, and say, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." So much importance is attached to this ceremony that if, as may sometimes happen in these enormous parishes, it should be necessary to bury the dead without waiting for the clergyman, an orifice is kept open in the grave, through which he may on his arrival pour the accustomed earth. The celebration of the Holy Communion is accompanied with a great deal of ritual, which is the more marked in consequence of the architectural plainness of the churches. There are three distinct divisions in all the services, the prayers of the priest, the responses of the choir, and the hymns of the people. At communion the priest is attired in a crimson velvet chasuble, and kneels, while the *candidatus* (the young man who has recently entered holy orders, and answers to the English curate) goes down the aisle noticing those who intend to communicate, so as to prevent any from partaking who have not previously given in their names and made their *communions-skrift*, the only confession required in the Norwegian Church. Each communicant wears something grey or black in memory of the Lord's death. The oblations are laid on the altar with great ceremony. After the consecration of the elements, the communicants are arranged in four divisions: the married men, the married women, the unmarried men, and the unmarried women. They are distinguishable by their different costumes. They kneel in the aisle while the non-communicants stand round chanting the *Agnus Dei*, and bowing their heads as the elements are administered. There is then a general thanksgiving, a hallelujah, and the service concludes with the benediction, during which the priest makes the sign of the cross.

The Norwegian clergy are very highly educated, and obtain admissions into the ministry only after passing very severe examinations. The *candidatus*, or newly-ordained clergyman, generally serves at first as curate in one of the large districts in which there are several *annexkyrker*. Thence he is promoted to some sole charge in the remoter districts of Norway, probably in Finmark or the Loffoden Islands, and, after ten years' service, obtains preferment in the more populous

and civilised parts of the country. Church patronage is in the hands of the bishops and of the Council of State. The bishop recommends and the council presents, but every appointment, with all the candidates' applications, and certificates, with the grounds of preference of the one to whom the living is given, must be inserted in a protocol of the council, which is examined in the Storting by a committee of Church affairs. There is a very wise arrangement whereby a clergyman past work may retire with a superannuation, which is charged against the income of his successor. There is also a widow's farm attached to each glebe, so that on the death of a rector his wife is not (as in the English Church) driven forth from her old home without any place of shelter. These wise provisions tend to prevent the scandal, too often seen in the English Church, of ministers clinging to their posts long after their power to perform their duties has ceased. Of church architecture in Norway there is little to say. Thron-dhem cathedral is interesting for antiquity, and is one of the oldest ecclesiastical edifices in Europe. The wooden churches of Borgund and Hitterdal are remarkable for their eccentricity—they resemble Chinese pagodas, and for their endurance—they are about 600 years old. A third church of this kind was removed by the King of Prussia, and erected in Pomerania, as a curiosity.

In Norway education is widely diffused, but is not carried to a very high point, except in the case of the clergy. The lower classes are well educated; but the few men of science whom the country has produced have found it useless to bring out their works in Norway, and have gone to Copenhagen or else to Germany, for a publisher. Artists meet with the same discouragement. There are exhibitions of pictures yearly at Christiania and Bergen, but they are very meagre, for patrons are few. Tidemand, the *facile princeps* of Norwegian painters, has long resided at Düsseldorf, and makes excursions to his native country only in order to obtain subjects. Some of the Norsk national airs are exceedingly plaintive and beautiful, yet the Norsk people are not a musical race, and though Ole Bull the violinist is living on an estate which he has purchased with his earnings, they were obtained in the United States. Nevertheless, it may fairly be questioned if the absence of such culture as is found among the English upper class is not compensated for by an intelligence among the Norsk peasantry, with which our own ignorant and stolid labourers contrast most sadly. There is, of course, no reason why we should not possess both education, which is the right

of the many, and culture, which is the privilege of the few. We already have the second: we might have the first if we would but adopt the Norwegian system of popular education. There has been a national system for 130 years. It underwent a complete revision in 1860. The law orders that every child must be taught. The children of the poorest classes are as soon as they are eight years old compelled to attend the national schools, at least twelve weeks in the year, which are so arranged that they shall not interfere with important agricultural operations. Such compulsion does not exist if the parents can prove that they are giving their children a proper education at home. The subjects taught at the national schools are religious knowledge, selected portions of geography, natural history, and general history, singing in classes, figures, reading and writing. Free schools and the payment of the master are under the control of the municipalities, and they are regularly inspected and visited by the bishops and the governors of the respective provinces. As the parishes are often large, and the population is widely scattered, it is common to divide a parish into circuits (*kreds*s). A circuit is provided with a peripatetic schoolmaster, who moves from place to place, inquiring into the education of the children, and usually residing at a farm-house, collects the nucleus of a school. When he finds that the houses in a neighbourhood are sufficiently numerous to supply an average attendance of at least thirty children, he reports to his superiors, who send down an inspector to decide if a permanent school shall be established.

Parents who wish their children to receive something more than the official minimum of education, send them to the national schools during those months of the year when the ordinary education has ceased. To some schools separate classes are attached for the higher branches of education, such as the close study of the vernacular, foreign languages (especially English), drawing, surveying, and mathematics. But no child can be admitted to these higher classes until it is twelve years old. The schoolmaster being paid by the municipality, he is not exposed to the caprices of parents. Although the education is thus free, the municipality sometimes imposes a small payment, which is given to the master as part of his salary. This arrangement renders it more easy to deal with idle or careless masters. There are eight training schools in Norway. All schoolmasters have to go through a two years' training, and at the end of that time have to pass a very severe examination. The State pays for

the education of the schoolmaster, and provides him with lodgings. He receives about £25 a year, with a small house and two or three acres of land. Every year the national schoolmasters hold a conference, at which papers bearing upon their occupation are read and discussed. The master's position is well recognised by the Government, and there are no fewer than eight training colleges for their education. No uncertificated master can open a parish school for the education of the poorer classes. Altogether there are three problems settled in Norway with regard to education which we are still endeavouring to solve: compulsory education, schools supported out of the local rates, and the examination and certification of masters. To these may be added the establishment of Government normal schools for the education of masters. The compulsory education does not end with school teaching. The clergy are bound to catechise children publicly, with a view to preparing them for confirmation. That rite is the passport, as we have seen, to all employments and offices. It is even a pre-requisite for marriage. In other words, the State will not suffer a person to marry who cannot read and write. To append one's mark to the marriage register would be a grievous scandal.

The University of Christiania, being at the extreme south of Norway, is not readily available to a large portion of the inhabitants. Nevertheless it is an improvement upon the old arrangement, under which it was necessary for students to betake themselves to Copenhagen. The education given at Christiania is general rather than special, and it is questionable if too many subjects are not required in the examinations. Mr. Bowden states that before a candidate can be admitted into holy orders he must know the classics, Hebrew, chemistry, botany, and natural history; all subjects which he may find extremely useful in relieving the *ennui* of a præstjeld in Finmark or the Loffoden Islands, but certainly in no other way. The course of study being so comprehensive is necessarily long, and extends over six years. This involves a considerable pecuniary outlay on the part of the student, the more so as living in Christiania is much dearer than in any other part of Norway. Consequently the benefits of a university training are confined to the class which can afford to pay a substantial sum for education. The University provides no rooms for the students. These have to live in lodgings, and they wear no distinctive dress except a cap. Having so long a period of training to undergo, they begin it at an early age, and the freshmen are mere boys. The University confers

no degrees, but the student who has passed his examination is termed a *candidatus*. There are about 600 students altogether. The medical school is highly esteemed, and Norway has had many celebrated physicians. The medical men are paid so much a year according to a fixed tariff, consequently there is no temptation to dose the patient with the whole pharmacopæia. The chemists have to undergo a very severe examination before they can set up in business, and even then they are not allowed to sell any of the more dangerous drugs without the written prescription of a duly qualified practitioner.

The legal arrangements of Norway are particularly well worth study, both on account of their antiquity and of their admirable provisions. The old sea-kings, freebooters though they were, had a more advanced and civilised code than any of the people whose coasts they ravaged. As Mr. Laing has pointed out, before the year 885 the power of law was established over all persons of all ranks and classes, while in the other countries of Europe the independent jurisdictions of the great feudal lords were not broken down till after a contest of ages. Harold Haarfagre expelled or subdued the class of "small kings," as they were called. Even these, however, were subject to law, as we learn from the "*Grey Goose*," the whimsical name given to the ancient Icelandic law book, compiled from the edicts of the four Things, or legal jurisdictions, into which Norway was divided before the small kings, whom Harold Haarfagre banished, took refuge in Iceland. Before the eleventh century Scandinavian law provided for the poor, for equal weights and measures, for police, for the punishment of vagrants and beggars, for the maintenance of roads and bridges, for the protection of women and of animals—all subjects which no other European code at that time embraced. These laws were collected into one code by Magnus VII., who died in 1280; they were again revised and codified by Christian IV. in 1604; and in 1687 the present code was drawn up. It is contained in a pocket volume, and is to be found in every Norwegian house. It is simple and intelligible; each law occupies a short paragraph. The modifications and additions by subsequent enactment, and the application of the law to special cases, can, of course, be known only by professional lawyers. The lowest court is the parish court of mutual agreement. In every parish the resident householders elect every third year, from among themselves, a person to be the commissioner of mutual agreement. He must not practise law, and has therefore no

temptation to promote litigation. He holds his court once a month, and every case must be brought there before it is taken to the higher courts. A fee of about tenpence is paid by the suitors, and the arbitrator, for such he really is, after hearing what they have to say, endeavours to bring them to an agreement. If both parties agree to his finding, the case is taken to the local court of law, or Sorenskrivers' Court, where the judgment is registered and rendered valid, without further expense. In case the arbitration is not accepted, the appeal is made to that Court, which meets once a quarter. The parties may appear by counsel, but no new matter is allowed to be introduced into the cause, and there is no brow-beating of witnesses nor attempts at forensic cleverness in cross-examination. There are sixty-four of these Sorenskriveries, or Sworn Writers' Courts, and the judges who preside over them must have had a legal education. Above these is the Stifts' Court, or court of the province. This consists of three judges or assessors, and is stationary in each of the provinces into which Norway is divided. From this court there is an appeal to the Hoieste Ret Court, which sits at Christiania, and has a right to revise even the sentences of a court-martial.

Norman blood is with us the synonym for aristocratic lineage. But the founders of our nobility have none of their own. This is the more remarkable, because Norway is not, like the United States, a country which has grown up without a class of nobles. The absence of any now is due to a direct and decisive act of abolition on the part of the Legislature. This act was the result of the subdivision of the land. It was found that a noble class could not be maintained except as placemen and pensioners, and, therefore, it was resolved to abolish it altogether. A law to that effect passed the Storthing in 1815, and the king exercised his right of veto. At that time, and until the last six years, the Storthing used to meet only once in three years, and as the sovereign had the power to refuse his assent to a measure twice, he could virtually suspend legislation for nine years. That power was exercised by King Charles XIV. (Bernadotte) on this occasion. The Storthing passed its abolition measure again in 1818, and he again vetoed it. In 1821, finding that the Storthing was still determined, and knowing that its act would after the third time of passing become law without his sanction, he resolved on a *coup d'état*, and he marched 6,000 troops to the neighbourhood of the capital. The people were intensely irritated, and there appeared every sign of a bloody collision, when the

Russian Minister at the Court of Stockholm and the American *chargé d'affaires* suddenly drove into Christiania, and very shortly afterwards the troops were withdrawn. No reason was assigned for this step, but the Storthing was quite content to be without one, for it had won the day and quietly re-enacted the abolition of the nobility, which then took place. Thus Norway is a pure democracy united to the monarchy of Sweden only by the personal tie. The King of Sweden is also King of Norway, or rather, first citizen of Norway. He reigns, but he does not rule. In fact, it may be said that the Norwegians pay him so much a year and provide him with a palace merely for the purpose of opening the Storthing. This freedom was secured to them by their brave, and at the same time prudent, conduct in 1814. England, with that strange forgetfulness of the rights of nations into which she fell at the close of the great war, undertaken ostensibly to protect those rights, became a party with Russia to a treaty by which Norway was guaranteed to Sweden in exchange for Finland, provided that the Crown Prince of Sweden (Bernadotte) would join the allies. He accepted this arrangement, and after the battle of Leipsie he marched into Holstein with a considerable force, and compelled Frederic VI. of Denmark to cede Norway to Sweden. Frederic had been the first Danish sovereign to treat Norway with anything like justice, and he it was who founded the University of Christiania. But his predecessors ever since the Union of Kalmar, in 1397, had systematically humiliated the Norwegians, who found that Danes were always preferred to posts of honour and influence. The mild rule of Frederic seems to have effaced the injustice of the previous four and a half centuries; for not only did the Norwegians resist this forcible transference from Danish to Swedish rule, but even to this day they show their preference for their ancient oppressors. The Norwegian language is identical with the Danish, but is different from the Swedish. Norway derives its literature almost entirely from Copenhagen. Danish money passes as readily in Norway as the money of the country; but Swedish is accepted with reluctance. If this feeling is thus strong now, it may be imagined that it was intense when the iniquitous compact of August 27th, 1812, became known. The Crown Prince Christian of Denmark convoked a national diet, which was composed of 113 representatives of all classes of the people, and met at Eidsvold near Christiania on April 11th, 1814. These representatives drew up a constitution; it is the constitution under which Norway is governed; for though the

Norwegians, blockaded by Swedish and British fleets, soon found resistance useless, they had sufficient moral influence to obtain the concession of the liberties which they now enjoy. An armistice and a convention were agreed upon. Christian abdicated the throne of Norway, and Charles XIII. of Sweden was elected in his place, and accepted the constitution of Eidsvold on November 4th, 1814. He was succeeded by Bernadotte as Charles John XIV., and this sovereign ruled until his death in 1844. He was succeeded by his son Oscar I., who gratified the Norwegians by giving them a separate national flag (very similar to that of England), and by decreeing that in all acts relating to Norway, he should be styled King of Norway and Sweden, instead of Sweden and Norway as heretofore. For two years before his death he was incapacitated for government, and his son was regent. He became king under the title of Charles XV. in 1859. He is very popular, and is an accomplished scholar. As he has no son, the crown will, according to the law of Sweden, devolve upon his brother Oscar.

The Storting, or great court, now meets yearly in the handsome building erected for it at Christiania. The rooms are exceedingly handsome and commodious, and the arrangements would well supply our own legislators with useful hints. There is a seat for every member, and he sits according to the alphabetical order of the place which he represents. The Storting is divided into two houses, the Lagthing and the Odelsting. The Lagthing is composed of a fourth of the members of the Storting; the remaining three-quarters constitute the Odelsting. All new bills originate in the latter body, and are sent to the former for acceptance or rejection. Should a measure be rejected, the Odelsting may demand that the two houses shall sit together, and the final decision is given by a majority of two-thirds of the voters. The Storting can form itself into a high court of justice for the impeachment of all ministers and officers of State. The executive is formed by a council of State, composed of the Governor-General of Norway, nominated by the King, and seven councillors of State, the heads of as many departments. The Governor-General is invested with merely nominal power, and neither he nor the King has any representative in the Storting. Every native Norwegian of twenty-five years of age who is a burgess of any town, or possesses property or the life-rent of land to the value of thirty pounds, is entitled to elect to the Storting, and under the same conditions, if thirty years old, to be elected. The whole country is divided into

electoral districts according to population, and is sub-divided according to area. The mode of election is indirect, the people first nominating a number of deputies, on whom devolves the duty of appointing the representatives in the Storthing. At the end of every third year the people meet at the parish church, and choose their deputies, one to fifty voters in towns, and one to a hundred in rural districts. The deputies afterwards meet, and elect, from among the other qualified voters of the district, the Storthing representatives, in the proportion of one-quarter of the number of deputies for the towns, and one-tenth of these for the country. Together with every representative is chosen a substitute, who is bound to take his place in the Storthing, should the member die or be laid aside by sickness. Members of the Storthing are paid about six shillings and sixpence a day during the session. The finances of Norway are in a satisfactory state, and the debt has been reduced of late years. The army is little more than a nominal force. It is supplied partly by conscription, and partly by enlistment. Every Norwegian has to go through a military training, either in the regular army or in the militia. The term of service in the army is nominally five years in the infantry, and seven years in the artillery and the cavalry. But most soldiers are sent on furlough at the end of one or two years. The strength of the army is about 12,000 men. The navy is manned solely by conscription. All sea-faring men and inhabitants of sea-ports, between the age of thirty and sixty, are enrolled on the lists of either the active fleet or the naval militia. The numbers on the list are about 48,000, so that on paper Norway has a very tidy defensive force. Experience has, however, shown that very little reliance can be placed upon a "paper" force. Fortunately Norway is not at all likely to need any other.

Norway, though it has under a hundred miles of railway, is yet in some social matters far in advance of the country which is *par excellence* the land of railways. It has long ago adopted courts of arbitration, a most extended suffrage, compulsory education and examination of the teachers, and a national army. There is one other important matter in which she has preceded ourselves, in legislation against drunkenness. Formerly every farmer was allowed to distil on his farm. The consequence was that Norway became one of the most drunken countries in Europe. At every festive and social occasion corn brandy (*finkel*) used to be imbibed to an enormous extent. It was drunk not only at the marriage feast, but at the marriage service, the flask being handed round in church.

The same flagrant indecency was perpetrated in the churchyard on Sundays, as the people gathered together and gossiped before worship. At funerals it was customary for every invited guest to walk up to the coffin and empty in honour of the dead a glass of brandy and a glass of beer. It was no unusual event for a peasant to prescribe before his death the amount of beer and brandy that was to be consumed at his funeral. The consequence was that by the time the corpse was brought to the churchyard the bearers were often reeling from intoxication. The evil became so great that at last, about a dozen years ago, the Government made an elaborate inquiry into the matter, and in 1859 a work was published by Eilert Sundt, a member of the University of Christiania, in which he gave some very startling statistics. After some discussion the Storting forbade the manufacture of *finkel* except in certain licensed distilleries. The sale also was forbidden in the rural districts, so that the farmer wishing to have alcoholic drink in his household must lay in a stock when he visits the capital or some other of the Norwegian towns. Manifestly the difficulty thus put in the way of obtaining the drink weakens the drinking habit. There would be little drunkenness in England were it not that the drink shops stand open at every street corner.

There still remains much to be said respecting the history, the legends and the antiquities of Norway, but space fails. Enough, we trust, has been told to show how well a visit to this country will repay the intelligent traveller who loves to study Nature in her grandest and most beautiful aspects, and his fellow-men in the highest political development. Artist, sportsman, *savant* and political economist, will all find room for more than one summer's tour in this land of the Fjeld, the Fjord and the Foss.

ART. VIII.—1. *Les Origines du Sermon de la Montagne* (*The Origin of the Sermon on the Mount*). Par HIPPOLYTE RODRIGUES. Paris: M. Lévy. 1868.

2. *A Course of Sermons on the Biblical Passages adduced by Christian Theologians in Support of the Dogmas of their Faith*. Preached in the Bayswater Synagogue. By HERMANN ADLER, Ph.D., Minister of the Congregation. London: Trübner and Co. 1869.

THE Redeemer is here between two assailants. The one, in France, is a philosophical, latitudinarian adherent of Moses, who thinks that Jesus has been misrepresented by Christianity, that the doctrine He taught was pure Judaism, and that its union, if it can be recovered, with Mosaism, would be a pure and perfect religion. The other, the English champion, is of the thoroughly orthodox type, and has nothing to do but save his congregation, at all costs, from the infection of the doctrine of "the Nazarene." The two writers are types of the two tendencies of modern Judaism—the most marvellous anachronism on earth. They give evidence of the vitality which informs the system; a vitality which shares the general combativeness of the age, and shows its vigour by confronting the gigantic fact of the Christian Church. Of all the enemies which Christianity has to fight against, abroad and at home, Judaism excites, or should excite, the greatest compassion. There is, to our mind, something unspeakably affecting in these two volumes. We have read them with a mournful interest, less as critics than as ponderers, not so much with any design to answer them at length as in the spirit of musing. We have but little space wherein to give our impressions. Of that space, M. Rodrigues will perhaps occupy a disproportional share, having first come under our notice. But we desire to do justice to both.

The writer of *Les Origines* is the Perpetual Secretary of the "Société Scientifique, Littéraire Israélite," a society the object of which is to diffuse and elevate, in public estimation, the sources of the Israelite literature and history, to cherish and expand Jewish philosophy, to vindicate the supremacy of Judaism among the forces of the world's regeneration, and finally to maintain a quiet but earnest protest against Christianity.

The specific aim of this volume—the second of the series—is to “demonstrate scientifically, to all eyes that fly not the light, that what is called Christian morals is nothing but Jewish morals, and that there does not exist any precept of morality adopted by civilised nations, which may not be traced to its origin in the Old Testament.” This is the author’s statement; but it is scarcely a fair one; because his object is to show that the Saviour’s ethics are to be found in the Talmud as well as in the Old Testament. The following letter, written to M. Duruy, the Minister of Public Instruction, will better explain the purpose of the book, and give our readers an instructive glance into the tactics of modern Judaism:—

“MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,—Your eloquent and learned discourse of March 2 contains a phrase which might give the sanction of your authority to the prejudice that attributes to Christianity the revelation of a virtue, a charity, and a morality unknown to the religions which the human race had before known. You remarked, *à propos* of morality, purely human and Christian morality: ‘Gentlemen, I know not two moralities, I know only one, and that which has come down from the Mountain, which you know is to me the best.’ It might be inferred from this passage, M. le Ministre, that the Discourse of the Mountain contained a revelation, either entirely new or, in other words, of purely Christian origin: but it does not. Permit me to appeal to the words of one who was when living regarded as science personified. M. Munk says: ‘Astonishment has been felt at the little effect produced at Jerusalem by the Sermon on the Mount. How could it have been otherwise? The words of that sermon were current in the streets of Jerusalem long before it was pronounced. Nothing is so easy as to reproduce this sermon out of documents anterior to this epoch.’ Permit me, again, to quote M. Salvador, who has treated this question in a highly elevated manner in his *Jésus Christ et sa Doctrine*, and especially to M. Joseph Cohen, who, in *Les Déicides*, has given decisive demonstration of this historical fact; and lastly, since these proofs, not refuted down to the present time, have failed to impress this verity on the public mind and public instruction, the attempt will yet be made, probably by Dr. Graetz of Breslau, to realise scientifically the words of Munk, and to reconstruct in its entirety the Sermon on the Mount with the documents anterior to its epoch. This demonstration, M. le Ministre, will, I firmly hope, gain in weight from your frank appreciation.

“In this hope I take the liberty to recall to your memory, M. le Ministre, that in the Council of Public Instruction, on occasion of a report containing the expression ‘Christian charity’ being protested against by M. Franck, his Eminence, Mgr. Darboy, had the magnanimity to acknowledge that charity was of Jewish origin, and had

descended from the decalogue of Moses. On a question purely scientific we cannot be less happy in addressing a Minister of Public Instruction than M. Franck was in addressing himself to the Archbishop of Paris. I cannot conclude, M. le Ministre, before repeating with emotion the eminent words pronounced by you in the same discourse, March 2: 'Study is also a worship, the school is also a temple, for science leads to God inasmuch as it conducts, in the domain of physical order to truth, in the domain of moral order to justice.' Receive, M. le Ministre, the warm expression of my profound respect.

"HIPPOLYTE RODRIGUES."

The task which M. Rodrigues here assigned to Dr. Graetz he was himself induced to undertake; and the result is before us, enriched by some notes and quotations from the Talmud which Dr. Graetz has supplied. The text of the Sermon on the Mount is given on one side, and the citations from the Old Testament and the Talmud on the other. The result is very interesting and instructive; one which every intelligent Christian will accept with satisfaction, not without wondering at the confusion of thought which founds so great an argument on this collation.

Our Saviour did not come into the world declaring that there had been no truth among man before He came. Much less did He declare that He brought with Him the first elements of ethics. On the contrary, He openly and at all times asserted what is asserted by the Jewish enemy of Christianity: that He came to fulfil the Law and the Prophets. He was the "Minister of the Circumcision," and, before He offered Himself up for the world He gave His own people the first-fruits of His doctrine, summing up and re-uttering with new authority the essence of the Old Testament teaching. "But never man spake like this man." M. Rodrigues could not have adopted a method more effectual for elevating the common estimate of the Sermon than this of collating the great development with its germs. The chief value of his work is the beautiful illustration it gives of the honour put upon the Old Testament by the Lord, who in it lived and moved and had His being, as the Word of His Heavenly Father.

As it regards the collations from the Talmud, it is perfectly immaterial whether we regard the Saviour as borrowing some words of the Rabbis who preceded Him, or the Rabbis as borrowing from Him. We think that in most of the cases the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the latter hypothesis. But no disciple of Jesus need shrink from supposing that some of the words which He uttered had been made

current in Jerusalem before He came. The Sermon on the Mount, as a whole, and in its integrity, remains in its heavenly self-authentication ; and, in spite of these poor Jewish critics, He who pronounced it will still be regarded as having spoken *with authority and not as the scribes.*

We might expect that the very finest of the Talmudical wheat will be presented here. But let the following words be compared with our Master's language on the spirit of charity. Let the reader think that the following is the parallel passage of chapter vii. 4 :—

“He who doeth alms in secret is greater than Moses himself.”
 “These are the eight degrees of charity : the first, the most elevated, is that of the man who sustains the poor upon his fall, whether by gifts, or by food, or by an association, in order to hinder him from falling into need. The second is that which gives without knowing and without being known. The third is that of the man who knows the poor man to whom he gives, but lets not himself be known. So the sages used to go and secretly throw purses of silver into the dwellings of the poor. The fourth is that of the man who is known by the poor man without, however, knowing him personally. The fifth is that of the man who gives to the poor, from hand to hand, without waiting to be asked. The sixth is that of the man who does not give until he has been solicited. The seventh is that which gives less than it ought, and without any benevolence ; and the last, the eighth, the lowest degree in the scale of charity, is that which gives with temper and regret.”

This is from Maimonides, the modern Moses, as extracted from the Talmud. The following *Midrasch*, or popular interpretation, is given on Matt. v. 29 :—

“The spirit of evil said to the Lord ; ‘All are extolling the virtues of Rabbi Mathia ben Harras ; may I be permitted to lead him into temptation ?’ ‘Go,’ replied the Lord, ‘and thou shalt lose thy time.’ Satan then took the form of the most beautiful female that ever appeared on earth and presented himself before Rabbi Mathia. This rabbi had never suffered his senses to trouble his reason ; never had he suffered matter to prevail in him over spirit. Nevertheless, Rabbi Mathia, perceiving this seductive creature, made a gesture of surprise, perhaps even of admiration ; but then commanding himself he turned away his eyes at once with austerity. But Satan, as alert as were the eyes of Rabbi Mathia, made the form with which he was invested follow all the movements of Rabbi Mathia, so that, do what he might, Mathia could not put out of sight this fascinating creature. Then Rabbi Mathia, fearing that he might fall, called his favourite disciple. ‘Take a nail,’ he said ; ‘make it red-hot in the fire, and

bring it hither to me.' The disciple took a nail, reddened it in the fire, and brought it to his master, and Rabbi Mathia plunged it into his own eyes. Immediately Satan, vanquished, fell backward and was lost in the earth. Then the Lord said to the angel of healing, 'Go, and restore sight to my well beloved.' Raphael ran to Rabbi Mathia. 'Who art thou?' asked Rabbi Mathia. 'I come, in the name of the Lord, to heal the wound in thine eyes.' 'No; what is done is done,' replied Rabbi Mathia. Raphael, ascending to the Lord, said: "Rabbi Mathia, fearing to be tempted anew, will not be cured." 'Return to him,' said the Lord; 'Rabbi Mathia reigns over Rabbi Mathia. I pledge My word that the spirit of evil shall never have advantage over him.' And then Rabbi Mathia suffered himself to be healed."

There are very few Talmudical passages worth extracting, though several give more or less faithful echoes of our Lord's words, and of the words of the Old Testament. In allusion to the "salt of the earth," we have a note that gives us the following from the Talmud: "'All food must needs be salted in order to be preserved. Money also must be preserved by being salted. With what may money be salted? With charity.' Raschi says: 'He who would season his money, that is to say, preserve it, should diminish it incessantly by charity: thus to lose is to gain.' It was a current proverb in Jerusalem: 'The salt of money is the diminution of it (*Heser*) by charity (*Hesed*).'" This we gladly accept, though it has no direct connection with our Lord's saying. On verse 20, we have a note from M. Graetz, not quite so satisfactory. When our Lord demands that His servants' righteousness shall exceed that of the Scribes and Pharisees, we are told "Righteousness is here used in the sense of *merit*. Merit is acquired, according to the Talmud, by pious works, by the study of the Law, and by reflecting the merit of ancestors. The merit of the scribes was specifically related to the study of the Law. This merit was henceforward declared to be insufficient: and here we have the spirit, hitherto badly appreciated, of this little verse." Nothing in this dictum is true. Similarly, the saying, "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine," we are quietly assured, was an express prohibition to preach to the Gentiles, foisted into the sermon, as many other such sayings were foisted into the Gospel, in express opposition to the known sentiments of the Jewish Christians, who must have known their Master's mind. "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," is paralleled from the Talmud in a beautiful, but rather irrelevant, saying: "What must man do to live? let him die. What must man

do to die? let him live." The reference to the gloss of the ancients, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy," is assigned to the interpolator whose services are so often in requisition. "This verse cannot be considered other than a lying interpolation. A man so holy as Jesus could not have slandered the Bible, and accused it of containing hateful maxims, of which no traces are to be found in our sacred books, and the contrary of which are everywhere taught." The censor of our sermon is far too charitable to the ancient teachers of his race: the Lord's authority is given to the statement, which cannot be taken out of the discourse without violent derangement. We have some amends in the interesting Pharisaical saying to illustrate the following sentiment of Christ, in verse 44. However contrary to much in the Old Testament, it is a quaint parody of the Christian sentiment: "Bear the tribulation of the Egyptians; suppress the prayer of glorying on the seventh day of the passover: it is the anniversary of the day when your enemies the Egyptians perished in the Red Sea, and God does not desire to be glorified because His creatures were overwhelmed in the waves." On this ordinance of the Talmud a *Midrasch* adds: "The morning of the day on which the Egyptians were drowned in the waves of the Red Sea, the angels presented themselves before the throne of God, to sing His praises. 'Keep silence,' cried the Eternal, 'my creatures are going to perish in the waters, and ye would sing!'" But the most remarkable parallel that we find is that which the author himself furnishes at the very end. "The people were astonished at His doctrine, for He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes," is the text: and this is the paraphrase: "Now it came to pass that when Jesus had finished this discourse, the multitude were astonished at the vigorous and concise form of His teachings: for He taught them the Law and the Prophets after the manner of the son of Sirach, of Hillel, and Schammai, reproducing in brief and incisive maxims the sentiments that were found in the sacred books, and not with dissertations like the other scribes."

Perhaps the most striking part of this volume is the singular composite it presents of Tübingen criticism and modern Judaism. The Sermon on the Mount is made the battle-field between the Judæo-Christians, who truly represented Jesus, and the Paulinism which afterwards disfigured it. "The Sermon on the Mount, from which the other evangelists have given only inadequate extracts, is an incontestable profession of the Jewish faith. The hatred of Paul-

inism and the contempt of Paul, expressed with so much energy in the last verses of the seventh chapter, bears witness at once to the violence of the struggle between the Judæo-Christians and the Paulinists, and to the Judæo-Christian character of Matthew." We will epitomise the sketches here given of both.

The question is, how to reconcile the declaration contained in St. Matthew—that not a jot of the Law should be changed—and the declaration of St. John in which Jesus makes Himself equal with God. As it is not contended by the author, and would not be admitted by the Christian, that Jesus could possibly have taught the affirmative and the negative of the same subject, he asserts that there is but one method of evading the difficulty—that of making St. Matthew's the true and the only exhibition of Christ's teaching. The Judæo-Christian sect contained the immediate disciples, the apostles, and the brethren of Jesus; His sanctity and the charm of His words inspired them with a passionate enthusiasm, under the influence of which they consecrated their lives to Him, resolved to follow His precepts, to imitate His example; and, when He was gone, they repeated every phrase and every word that issued from His lips. Thus this sect became the living tradition of Jesus. They represented His true teaching, His true character, as a very eminent Jewish Rabbi, one worthy, had not the indiscreet and blasphemous idolatry of His followers compromised them, to have taken almost the highest place among the wise men of Israel. They were, and long continued to be in Jerusalem, the true representatives of a teacher who never invaded the unity of God, who never pronounced or predicted the end of sacrifices, and who never made himself greater than Moses. These early representatives of a Christianity which had not the name of Christianity, but was only eclectic Judaism of a very refined order, were far from being an offence to the pious in Jerusalem. On the contrary, their presence was tolerated in the Temple; their devotion was admired; and James, their chief pastor, was appealed to by the Jews as an arbiter in their discussions on the interpretation of the Law. Nor would there ever have been anything like serious conflict between the older Jews and the Jews of Jesus' persuasion, had not that deadly innovation, the spirit of Paulinism, gradually crept in and spoiled the work of the Prophet of Nazareth.

It will of course occur to the reader to object that all this is in glaring opposition to the evidence of the Christian documents narrated in Matthew's Gospel; and that the sanction

of the first evangelist is obtained only at the expense of cutting down his Gospel at both ends, and considerably amending him here and there throughout. To this M. Rodrigues would reply that the interpolations of St. Matthew, and the other books of the New Testament, were written as the result of an unholy compromise with Paulinism after the expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem, a compromise that had Rome for its centre, and the apostate Apostle, who knew not Jesus, for its hero. But it is necessary to take a glance at Paulinism.

Jesus had fallen a victim to the vacillating justice of the sanguinary Pilate. The Apostles, affrighted at the vigour and the promptitude of Roman justice, and fearing to be accused of complicity with the reputed sedition of their Master, led the rest of the disciples, to the number of some five hundred, into retirement in Galilee; just as their Lord had led them into Galilee in times of earlier danger. There, leading the life of community, after the manner of the Essenes, they spent a whole year, regretting their departed Master, extolling His virtues, recalling and riveting on their memory His words, affirming in every possible way His Messianic character, and weaving around His head all the names by which the Messiah was, or was supposed to be, indicated in the Prophets—the Christ, the Son of David, the Son of God, and the Son of Man. At length, persuaded fully of His resurrection, and ruled by the thought of His near and glorious return, with the solemn judgment that should follow, involving His vindication of all who believed in Him, and His rejection of all who knew Him not, they inflamed each other's imagination to the highest fervour of devotion to the "glorification of His memory and of His ideas."

At length, having been undisturbed in their retreat, and feeling attracted towards Jerusalem by the return of the holy paschal season, they decided to venture again into the old scenes, and on the anniversary of the death of Jesus they are found in the place where He was crucified. Their return would necessarily cause some astonishment, as it had been supposed that they were dispersed and forgotten; but it was soon apparent that their principles were not very dangerous, and they were allowed to preach freely the Messiahship of their Master, and even His personal resurrection. However outrageous this supposition may seem, it is surpassed by the idea that from this time forward a certain national interest began to be attached to the memory of the sad victim of the Romans, whom the new sect had adopted as their only Master. The ardour of His disciples' conviction, and the unswerving

constancy of their words, availed to win a certain number of adherents to the name of Jesus. About this time, that is, when the national interest had begun to recommend the name of Jesus to the multitudes—the Christian company were reinforced by the adhesion of the Essenes, and the Judæo-Christian sect was fully formed: that is, if the Christians were not all the time the Essenes disguised, or melting into the discipleship of Jesus. M. Rodrigues cannot otherwise account for it that the Essenes never appear again in history after the Judæo-Christians arise, and that they are never once mentioned in the writings of early Christianity. We have little doubt that Christianity brought Essenism to its end; while we are fully certain that Essenism had nothing to do with the origin of Christianity.

Paulinism proper—that spoiler of the new Judaism—was the result of Hellenism in Judæa. A certain number of Jewish Greeks, attracted to Jerusalem by their business or their devotion, felt the general bias towards the religious system of Jesus; and, when they multiplied, their difference of origin and language gave the impulse to a deep and lasting divergence between them and the Hebrew Christians. The latter spoke the Aramæan dialect, and read the Bible in the Hebrew text or the Chaldee paraphrase; while the former, the Hellenists, spoke Greek and read the translation of the Seventy. The Hebrew Christians retained the purity of their faith: to them Jesus was the prophet announced in the sacred books, and Christianity was no other than a revision and consummation of Mosaism. The Hellenist mind, however, too recent from paganism to tolerate long this pure doctrine, began to idealise the name and form of Jesus into something more divine than human; it made Him a demi-god, and in due time a man was found, the reputed John, who carried the notion to the uttermost point of frenzy, and made for Jesus not a crown of thorns, but a crown of glory too rich for human brows—the crown of equality with God. But though John was the daring dogmatist who perfected the creed, Stephen was really its first preacher and martyr, who was stoned according to the Jewish law, which would not suffer any man to live who invaded the supremacy and unity of God.

The Hellenist Christians, followers of Stephen, were dispersed abroad, rejected with abhorrence by the Hebrews and Hebrew Christians. But, according to M. Rodrigues, the Jewish Christians were the sect that contained the true doctrine that would have perfected Mosaism and prepared it

for the Gentiles. To Jerome they seemed a people who, desiring to be at once Jews and Gentiles, were neither Jewish nor Christian. We should not altogether adopt that tone. The worst part of them gradually renounced Christianity while they outraged Judaism. The better part carried Judaism to its decent grave, after it had died in Christ. They retained all that loyalty to the Saviour of mankind, and the Mediator of a better covenant, would allow them to retain; and in them every vestige of the ancient economy should have ceased. The Hellenist Christians, however, triumphed. According to our author, they rejected at once Mosaism, that is to say the teaching of Moses, and Christianity, that is the teaching of Jesus. Yet they triumphed. They overthrew for the greater part of mankind, and for a long series of ages, the Monotheist conception, and gave to men a mystical reproduction of their paganism. St. Paul, who held the clothes of Stephen, received his mantle also. He was the organiser, the preacher, and the dogmatist of the new faith. They called it at Rome Christianity, but it should have been called Paulinism.

"How should Jesus have appeared to you—to you who believe the very opposite of what He taught?" is the angry question of Peter in the *Clementine Homilies* to Paul. The malignant enemies of the Apostle of the Gentiles were, in the days of early heresy, never weary of alleging his deadly and diametrical opposition to the teaching of Jesus. The modern enemies or enlightened critics of Christianity have discovered that Peter and Paul, Judaic orthodox Christianity, and triumphant Hellenic heterodox Christianity, were, in some sense, reconciled in the second century. After the complete expulsion of the Jews from the Palestinian territory in A.D. 135, the Judæo-Christians sought to come to a compromise with the Paulinists, and the Acts of the Apostles was an immediate result. The synoptists also were freely handled, interpolations having been inserted which had for their object to efface the national character of the Messianic hope, and to cast upon the Jews, vanquished and dispersed, the odium of instigating Pilate in his condemnation of Jesus. But, whatever resemblance of reconciliation there might have been, it lasted but a short time. Pauline Catholic Christianity cast out the poor Jew, made his doctrine heresy, and his person detested.

We may answer all this by an appeal to the spirit and language of St. Paul's acknowledged writings—notably the First Epistle to the Corinthians—and by showing, on the evi-

dence of a hundred sayings, how utterly untrue it is. The first chapter of the epistle alluded to might seem to have been written, as it were, on purpose to obviate any such views as these. If the Apostle's righteous soul was vexed at being misled with others in giving their names to Christian factions, how would his spirit have been roused within him had he foreseen that he would, by-and-by, be regarded, by a large class of Christian critics, as the true author and founder of the Catholic faith of Christendom. But it seems like an irreverent use of his name and writings even to appeal to them for such a purpose. The best refutation is simply to expose the violence that such a theory does to the entire fabric of the New Testament, and to the documents on which it is based. Interpolations must be imagined lurking in every corner. The Gospel of St. Matthew being accepted as the Jewish Christian Gospel, the only one that establishes the descent of Jesus from David, must be stripped of very much before it can serve the author's purpose. From the first interpolation, "Immanuel," down to "all nations," in the last chapter, what a multitude of words and thoughts must be eliminated! Instead of dwelling on this, let us only consider the following sentences, which are a commentary on some of our Lord's last sentences, and contain a statement which the theory inexorably demands:—

"The false prophet disguised as a sheep—the ravening wolf—the worker of iniquity—the foolish man—the expeller of demons—the worker of miracles, he who says, Lord, Lord, but does not the will of God—these are all designations of St. Paul. The corrupt tree is faith: the good tree is works. Whosoever builds on faith builds on the sand, and whosoever builds on works builds on a rock. These words, full of violence and contempt, placed in the mouth of Jesus—at the very moment when He has just been condensing into a few phrases the essence of the biblical morality—throw, it is true, a strong light on the history of the epoch at which the Gospel of St. Matthew was published; but they, at the same time, alter the physiognomy of Jesus and deteriorate His character. This gloomy anathema, placed at the conclusion of this gentle sermon, bears only too sure testimony to the violence of the struggle which existed between the Jewish Christians and the Paulinists. But it also insinuates the failure to practise the ethics which had just been preached; it makes Jesus belie Jesus Himself; and it constitutes at once an anachronism and a calumny."—P. 173.

Here our Lord's words are supposed to be tampered with by the men who fervently loved and venerated them even to

the very echo. They invent for their Master a series of maledictions which were to suit the guilty head of the future Apostle Paul; and thus, in order to wreak their vengeance on him, they give an entirely new cast to the most solemn and formal discourse their Master had ever uttered. But the confusion of the author is most pitiable. Whom does his theory fasten upon as the interpolator? Not surely those Jewish Christians, after all: they would not have dared to do this. Not surely the reconcilers of Judaism with Paulinism: it would have been a strange method of winning the Apostle's friends. But it is useless to pursue the subject any further. We will dismiss the book with the writer's condescending challenge to the disciples of Jesus to melt into Judaism again:—

"And now that we have reached the end of our task, and shown that the Sermon on the Mount may be produced in its integrity out of documents anterior to its epoch, shall we undertake the examination of the divers consequences resulting from this? No. It is enough to set forth the questions in their scientific reduction, and to let everyone deduce his own consequences, and thus show the measure of his good sense, of his sincerity, and of the liberty of his judgment. Only—and that we may use that liberty which is granted to every man, we shall draw this one conclusion, that, if the religion preached and practised by Jesus was in very deed that adopted by the Jews, and that adopted by the Jewish Christians, the fact furnishes decisive proof that, were the religion of Moses and the religion of Jesus penetrated anew by the principles of their founders, and reformed according to the scientific and philosophical results obtained in our own day, the religion of Moses and the religion of Jesus would no longer form other than one and the same only religion. For, unless men are bent upon running counter to the natural course of things, the religion of Moses and the religion of Jesus cannot, in our days, be reformed, and reach their consummation, without being blended into one."—P. 200.

The sum is, that our philosophical Jews, with all their seeming admiration for our Lord, and respect for His doctrine, are bent upon denying Him any claim to originality. All that is absolutely distinctive of Christianity they regard as interpolation, and all that they admit is merely the Sermon on the Mount in an expurgated edition of their own. The idea of reducing Christianity to the dimensions which they would assign to it is so unphilosophical as well as so unscriptural, that we wonder at the pains spent in recommending such a procedure. Of all the vanities of modern speculation, this is the most vain; and we should not take the

pains to exhibit it to our readers were it not that this spirit of unconscious yearning towards Christianity, but a Christianity that must lose its essence before it can be accepted, is rapidly spreading among cultivated Jewish youth. But they "cannot serve Rabbinism and Jesus." We turn now to another kind of Jewish enemy to Christianity: one whom we far better understand, and respect more, while we entertain equally little fear of his influence as an opponent.

Dr. Adler's little volume is one that will have much more interest for our readers than that of M. Rodrigues. It is not written by a philosophic theorist, striving to find an impossible point of union between Judaism and Christianity; but by a living preacher, who is constantly preaching in our midst the falsehood of the principles of the Christian faith. The volume has a startling impressiveness. Many who have been in the habit of considering Judaism as a crumbling relic of antiquity, an obsolete form of faith that lives on only in virtue of prophecy, and craves only to be allowed to go down to its grave in peace, will be surprised to find that it has life and vigour enough to rise and revolt against the Christian propagandist. It can defend itself, and with no slight acrimony.

These sermons were delivered in the synagogue at Bayswater, and were intended to neutralise the pious efforts of Christians to convert the Jew. Of course, we can have nothing to say against the zeal that is "exceedingly jealous not to allow one single member of its flock to stray from the fold of Judaism." But we should be better pleased with that zeal if it were less selfish, and should respect it more if it had more anxiety to diffuse the blessings of which it is the watchful guardian. At the same time we should have more faith in its purity, and reasonableness of it, were it less acrimonious in its judgment upon others.

The first sentence of the first sermon intimates that the Jewish is not a faith that seeks proselytes, believing that, in the words of Maimonides—the modern Moses, as it were, of Judaism—"the sincere and virtuous professors of every religion may hope to enjoy future bliss." Now we cannot understand how the holders and representatives of any revelation sent down from heaven can dwell in the midst of the perverters and, as they deem them, blasphemers of that revelation, without striving in every possible way to save them from their errors; and to us there is a strange inconsistency in the latitudinarianism which can so calmly promise eternal life to the sincere votaries of a religion that has de-

liberately perverted the true faith in one God into what is represented as a refined species of polytheistic idolatry:—for such on the Jewish theory Christianity must be.

And we should be better pleased with this book if its contempt for Christian zeal were less arrogant. The following are strange words, when looked at in all lights:—

“We acknowledge with warmest gratitude the religious liberty, the civil equality, we enjoy in this blessed land, where ‘we may walk in freedom, with none to molest us or make us afraid.’ But just on this account we deplore the more deeply the unceasing efforts made by men of misguided, misdirected zeal, to win our brethren over to *their* faith. We must deplore that want of tolerance which prompts those self-created dispensers of salvation to imagine that we are temporally and eternally lost unless we abjure our religion. We must deplore the fact, that immense sums are spent, year after year, by societies for promoting Christianity among the Jews, in turning bad Jews into worse Christians—sums that might be spent worthily in converting to humanity that seething mass of vice and depravity which festers in the heart of this great city, or in imparting instruction to the children who throng our courts and alleys, and who grow into manhood in ignorance of the first lessons of virtue. We must grieve, grieve deeply, that the holiest professions of man—his faith, and his conscience—should be made matters of barter and purchase. Now we cannot, and we certainly do not, wish to cope with those societies in the employment of their most powerful instrument, the *golden bait*, with which they entice a few ignorant or deceitful stragglers.”—P. 3.

Certainly, nothing can justify the tone and spirit of these words, which, under the mask of admiration for our “blessed land” and its institutions, vituperates that which is its highest glory, its missionary zeal. The pure devotion that seeks to lift the veil from the heart of a Jew here and there, and lavishes large sums in the endeavour to win the individuals and the nation to Christ, ought not to be slandered thus. The Rabbi may think it profoundly mistaken; he may mock its vanity. He may even honestly doubt the real success of these societies in a large number of instances, and think that “ignorant or deceitful stragglers” are the trophies of Christianity for the most part. But he must have a hardened forehead to say that the Christian men who everywhere preach the Gospel to Gentile and Jew alike are “self-created dispensers of salvation,” and believe that “all Jews are temporally and eternally lost, unless they abjure their religion,” and make “faith and conscience, the holiest possessions of man, matters of barter and purchase their “most powerful instrument being the *golden bait*, with which they entice

a few ignorant or deceitful stragglers." These are vain self-convicted words, scarcely worthy of the high sentiment of pity that they awaken.

This is a very different kind of assault from that which societies for promoting Christianity among the Jews are liable to sustain among ourselves. There are many Christians who look with much distrust or indifference upon all efforts to convert the Jews, who think that their day of grace is suspended until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled; and that all efforts on a large scale to win Jews to Christianity are premature, and destined to failure. Certainly this has been the case hitherto; and the blind resistance which for ages the Jewish mind as such has opposed to Christian evidence of every kind, might seem to indicate that a "set time" has yet to come, until which the conversion of the Jews will be only sporadic and confined to few. Be this as it may, individual Jews may be aimed at, and have been aimed at with success. The tone of the remarks which we have quoted, shows that stragglers are lost, and effectually lost, from the company. Whatever indifference Judaism may feel as to the conversion of Christians to its tenets, it is for ever impossible that Christianity should imitate that indifference. We may adopt the language of our first pleaders at the bar of the Jewish council, "We must obey God rather than men," and must proclaim that the God of the fathers of Judaism hath sent His Son to give them a better name than the sons of Abraham, a better faith than Mosaism.

We have no intention to enter on an exegetical defence of Christian interpretation, or to point out in detail the sophistries and special pleadings of this volume. Nothing of this kind could be satisfactorily accomplished in a few pages. Nor is it necessary; our Christian readers are not likely to need preservatives for their own faith, and our words are not likely to meet the eye of any in Jewish circles. It will be sufficient, therefore, to indicate—for the benefit of some whose vocation will give them an interest in the subject—what kind of hedge is here thrown around the prophetic references to the Messiah so as to protect them from the invasion of Christians.

The preliminary sermon on the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity is too slight to be capable of analysis. The adversary of the preacher who "triumphantly remarked that the *third* word in the Bible proved the truth of the principal dogma of Christianity," must either have been misunderstood by his opponent, or have been such a defender of Christianity as Dr. Adler ought to know better than to adduce. He did not,

we are sure, "make the Deity consist of more than one Being:" for every single reference to the Trinity in the New Testament carefully preserves the unity of the Triune name. And it is probable that he referred to what the preacher carefully abstains from noticing, the cumulative force of a variety of plural terms combined with three-one Benediction from God and three-one Doxology to God. It is easy enough in a note to charge Mr. Liddon with quibbling, when he refers to "the threefold repetition of the most Holy Name in the benediction of the priests;" but the writer should remember that the strength of ancient and modern criticism has quibbled in the same manner, and that whatever contempt the Jew may feel for the argument, it can hardly be called a "curiosity" with any fairness. Moreover, the preacher seems to be unconscious that the Christian faith does not prove its "principal dogma" by Old Testament texts. It proves none of its dogmas by the Old Testament. It professes to receive the Old Testament as re-uttered and interpreted by the one Oracle of truth for all ages—the Word of God incarnate.

In all ages the section of prophecy which was the text of the Ethiopian's conversion has been blessed of God to the conversion of Jews, and the confirmation of Christians in their faith. Multitudes have mused "of whom speaketh the prophet," until, under the teaching of the Divine Spirit, they have been driven to the one and only solution. The entire paragraph has been, however, like the Gospel of which it speaks, a savour of death as well as a savour of life. Those who reject its one most sacred meaning seem hardened by it into more absolute obduration, and to them also it has its strange fascination. Hence the prominence always given to it in books that on the Jewish side encounter Christianity. Our preacher gives it a striking prominence.

Negative arguments to show that this glorious chapter could not refer to our Lord, are as follows. This portion of Isaiah has referred to the "*captive daughter of Zion*," whereas "the Nazarene was born while the second temple was standing, and Israel enjoying comparative independence:" here the writer loses sight of the perspective of prophecy; he also mistakes the fact, for Israel's independence was gone. Then how could the Redeemer, if God, be the servant of God? We are reminded of our Lord's own question here, "If David's Lord, how is He then his Son?" Then it was said that the servant of the Lord should prosper, whereas the Nazarene was sentenced to an ignominious death, and the Nazarene

"died childless"—did not "see his seed;" seed being always offspring, never disciples. Moreover, he did "prolong his days," this expression being applicable only to temporal life. Again, he did not "divide the spoil," this being language applicable only to temporal triumphs; and if God Himself, to whom did the Nazarene pray when he "made intercession for the transgressors"? The exegetical difficulties which are hinted at, as confirmed by Christian commentators, such as Gesenius, Hitzig, and Knobel, are entirely, or almost entirely, cleared up by other "Christian commentators," more worthy of the name, whom this writer does not refer to.

Before coming to the positive argument, that the servant of the Lord is Israel afflicted among the nations, we encounter a vehement protest against the doctrine of vicarious atonement. Strange that a Jew should be the bitterest enemy of the Trinity: stranger still that he should be the bitterest enemy of a doctrine that is the crimson or golden thread that bound his scriptures together. "It is contended," we read, "that God could not forgive man for the original sin committed by Adam until some one had suffered in the place, and for the sake of man; i.e., till a vicarious atonement had been made. Now, without at present entering upon the question of hereditary sin, let us consider the assumption that this statement involves: that God by Himself is unable to forgive sins!" What means, then, the entire institute of sacrifice, which occupies the largest place in the Mosaic economy, and the prescriptions of which meet the sinner at every turn? The Christian doctrine of the atonement does not deny that God "by Himself" is able to forgive sins: because He could forgive them He sent His Son. It does not deny that He is able "by Himself, without assistance or intervention, to forgive whatever sin may have been committed by man since man's origin." Dr. Adler pleads God's rejection of Moses' offered sacrifice of himself as an atonement: this he thinks a sufficient argument against *all* sacrificial atonement. "We have no mediator to save us from the effects of our guilt, but our own sincere repentance, by which we hope to obtain the forgiveness of our God." All the argument brought forward is the doctrine of personal responsibility, which the Christian institute does not deny; and the fact that the blood on the day of atonement, like all sacrificial blood, availed not for any that did not sincerely repent: as if the Christian doctrine made vicarious atonement a licence to sin with impunity, and to demand forgiveness without repentance. After a few sentences of desperate feebleness the preacher concludes: "The theory of

mediation, when carried to its extreme consequences, would be a monstrous reversal of the Divine scheme of man's creation and destiny. No; such cannot be the way of the perfect Judge. The Pentateuch and the Prophets tell us most unequivocally that it is not; and reason leads us to the like conclusion."

Then comes, thirdly, the solution of the mysterious words which, to our ears, is the melody of the Gospel in the heart of the Old Testament. The current of Jewish exposition has always assumed that God's servant is Israel—the only vicarious sufferer for the sins of the world: Israel chastised, humbled, and deserted of God for many ages, in order that the world might be brought to the truth. With fearful infatuation it is forgotten that the sufferer in the prophet suffers not for himself; whereas the entire testimony of history, sacred and profane, alike the judgment of God and the verdict of man, attest that whatsoever the ancient people suffered at the hands of ancient and modern enemies, they suffered justly. The nations and kings of the earth are supposed to behold, at some distant millennial period, the exaltation of Israel, and then to cry, "Israel was despised and rejected, acquainted with grief, and we (the nations of the earth) esteemed him not." The whole world will find out that the history of man has been one long ministry of one nation, the source of every benefit and blessing to mankind; ministering in humility, rejection and scorn, until the set time when God shall vindicate them and divide them as spoil with the great. The nations of the earth shall then acknowledge: "Israel was wounded for our transgressions, bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and through his stripes we are healed." But we cannot bring ourselves to exhibit in detail the sad artifices by which the sacred words, "when His soul shall make an offering for sin," and others of which this is the keynote, are wrested, to establish a reference to Israel. Great as the world's obligations are to the ancient people of God, and dire as have been their sufferings through the ages, it is a miserable perversion of truth to represent them as pouring out their national soul unto death for the benefit of mankind. Indeed, such an application of the words is a tremendous satire, such as we should be sorry to suggest were it not forced upon us. We leave this topic, only saying, in conclusion, that the Christian advocate may safely stake the whole issue on this prophecy of Isaiah and its fair interpretation.

When we are considering the Old Testament predictions,

which are expressly referred to by our Lord and His holy Apostles, Dr. Adler and his never-failing troop of Rabbis have not the slightest value. One word of St. Peter, one word of St. Paul, has more weight than many Rabbis. So long as the preacher is dealing with the prophecy concerning Shiloh, and some few others which are not expressly referred to in the New Testament, we are willing to make any allowance for difficulties, and are not insensible to them ourselves. We might be willing to leave them undecided; but there is something in the tone wherewith this modern Rabbi speaks of our Scriptures that forbids our entering upon any dispute with him as to the Redeemer's words:—

“My dear brethren, of all the Christian doctrines which I have brought before you, and which, in the name of God's truth, I have felt myself compelled to denounce, this dogma—that the Nazarene was literally the Son of God—is surely the most monstrous, the most repugnant to reason. The All-holy God, the essence of infinite moral perfection, whom the Seraphim tremble to approach, the God so pure that the ‘even the moon and it shineth not, yea, the stars are not pure in his sight,’ the God whom Holy Writ brings before us as exalted so infinitely high above all the imperfections inherent in man's nature, the Holy One who has said, ‘To whom then will ye liken Me, or shall I be equal to?’ that same God is dragged down from heaven and likened unto man! that Supreme Being (I shudder while I say it) is lowered to the level of one of those deities with which the mythology of Greece peopled their Olympus—beings with the same passions and feelings as those of mankind. I refer to a verse in the first page of the New Testament, the verse relative to the birth of the Nazarene. I will not read it in this sacred place. I cannot dwell upon the subject, I must hasten over it as over glowing coals.”

We also feel that it is a desecration of our pages, to copy such words. They are quoted only as vindicating our silence in regard to the criticism on our Saviour's own quotations from the Old Testament, and those of His Apostles.

We must, however, insert a few passages, simply to show how entirely Dr. Adler misunderstands, or affects to misunderstand, or misrepresents, our Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. He says:—

“Now if the Son be a divinity like the Father, and equal to Him, why need He ask that any favours should be granted Him? Is He not omnipotent? Is not the whole earth with the fulness thereof His possession? With what possible right can a whole theological system of subtlety and mystery be upraised on the use of that simple

expression 'Thou art My Son!' The very corner stone of Christianity is that its founder voluntarily offered Himself as an expiation for the sins of mankind, that He voluntarily elected to perish. How is it, then, that in this psalm He expresses His great anxiety to be delivered? If he had been delivered, the whole scheme of the salvation of mankind, according to the Christian doctrine, would have been frustrated. The 'dry bones' of dogmatic theology which Christian expositors would fain discover are not enshrined in the book of Psalms. No, brethren, far nobler are its contents; there we find the thrilling language of religious emotion, now tender as soft-breathing music, now sublime and soul-stirring as the roar of the mighty torrent, but ever purifying and elevating the human heart—language which has rendered this book the everlasting psalmody of mankind. But sacrifices are offered to a God. To whom, then, shall the Deity bring sacrifices? To Himself? nay more; numerous passages in the so-called New Testament distinctly declare the Nazarene to be the sin-offering by whose blood the sins of the world are to be atoned. Hence, one and the same person is the victim that is offered, the high priest who offered, and the deity to whom it is offered! The concluding verses speak of battles that will be fought by the personage to whom this psalm is addressed, and of kings whom he will crush. No record, however, exists of battles which the Nazarene fought."

Dr. Adler has adduced a considerable number of predictions which Christians have vainly interpreted of their Saviour Jesus Christ; and has shown how one and all are utterly inapplicable to "the Nazarene." But there are many which he has not referred to, and among the rest those which in their aggregate gave him the name which it is his pleasure to assign to our holy Master. "He shall be called a Nazarene:" by no other name—among so many that His disciples adopt, so many that the New Testament offers, which would not have compromised his Judaism—does this book recognise the Founder of Christianity. Every time we read the Word it seems like a direct fulfilment of the words of the first evangelist. Not, only, however, does this name fulfil the sayings of our holy book; but the whole tenor of the volume breathes the spirit of peculiar enmity to the truth, which none but a Jew can feel, and which the New Testament more than once predicts as the lasting mark and sign of malignant Jewish opposition. It is a bitterness altogether peculiar; and a perversion of the doctrines of the Gospel specifically *sui generis*. This must force itself upon everyone who reads Jewish literature. It cannot be explained altogether save on one theory: thus they fulfil our Scripture. Christians pay the Jewish Scriptures immense respect, and spend upon them critical learning and pains, in comparison of which Jewish

literature is comparatively barren. Christians hold every Jewish doctrine in profound regard, and never say that they have received anything more than the consummation of the Jewish Scriptures. Christians never revile the Jew, at least, now and in this land: on the contrary, they take pains to convert them. But all is lost upon the Jewish mind—*thus it was written.*

In the last sermon, for Pentecost, we see this spirit exhibited in a very marked manner. Nothing is more persistently dwelt upon than the eternity of the divine law as an argument against the entire Christian system. Christians of every shade of opinion are said to refer to the "Prophet like unto Moses," as a convincing argument that their Master—the Nazarene—was "the Messiah whose revelation was to abrogate that of Moses." This miserable slander is elsewhere varied, to the effect that Christians make Jesus the Founder of a new law.

There are two replies which obviously occur, and absolutely set aside this kind of argument, whatever form it may assume. The Christian faith is not the revelation of a new law, in the sense here alleged against Christianity; it is the revelation of a new law in the sense that the Jewish writers themselves admit the possibility of a new revelation. Not a word can be found in the New Testament which claims for the Founder of Christianity the prerogative or mission of establishing a new law. This simple assertion is all that we need say in reply to the following words, where, speaking of the text, "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and the house of Judah," the preacher says:—

"Theologians of another faith contend that what the prophet here predicts is the revelation of a new law by the author of their religion. But their mistake will at once become apparent if you examine the words that follow, in which Jeremiah clearly explains the meaning of his prophecy: 'After those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.' . . . The heavenly lessons had not penetrated and transfused their being; . . . and this continued throughout the nation's history. Here, however, the prophet announces the time when God's law will become a truth, and a reality in the lives of men. . . . The commandments will not be written on tablets of stone, which are liable to break, and which were broken: but upon the tablets of the human heart, so that He will be our God, and Israel His people."—P. 168.

The Redeemer, however, is asserted by Christians to have introduced a new legislation, and a new development of

revelation, in the sense in which expositors of the Jewish Scriptures must allow that the divine revelation has been varied. Surely, Moses was not the only revealer of the will of God. If the "prophet like unto him" was not the Christ of Nazareth, he must have been a succession of inspired messengers declaring anew, and under new aspects, the ancient revelation of Sinai. He came to abolish much of that which every Jew must admit to have been from the beginning destined to abolition, which could never have been extended beyond the Holy Land, and the peculiar people, and which has certainly been abolished, apart from Christ, never to be again restored. The Saviour has not taught another God, or another worship, or another hope, than Moses had taught, though with less distinctness. He did not profess to teach a new morality: a new morality He could not teach, other than God had taught from the beginning. His only "new commandment" was love, and the very statement that it was "love" showed that it was not as a new revelation of human duty and privilege that He announced it, but only that He based it on a new ground, gave it a new sanction, and elevated it to a new prominence.

"How, then, dare Christianity assert that a purer and more elevated morality than that contained in the Bible was preached by its founder? The Word of God could not have been imperfect or incomplete so as to require either correction or development: where the so-called 'new dispensation' agrees with the Bible, it must be needless repetition; where it differs from it, it must be untrustworthy and fallacious."—P. 171.

These are strong words; but meaningless. Was the book of Deuteronomy "needless repetition?" Did not God give Moses revelations denied to the fathers? Had the prophets nothing to revoke, nothing to add? Is there no development of truth running through the Scriptures? And did not God give His people statutes of limited application and transitory obligation? The spirit of this allegation against Christ is utterly false.

Rejecting the Messiah whom God sent in the fulness of time, His own Son, redeeming and sanctifying the nature which He assumed—what manner of Messiah do they find in the Old Testament whose attributes will not correspond with Jesus of Nazareth? Only a dim and shadowy personage who will come in that golden age, which is yet far in the future; in that bright period when Israel, dispersed for their sins, shall be restored to their own land, and prosperity and peace shall

prevail through the world. Because the days following the first coming of the Messiah have not realised the glorious ideal prophesied for His second coming, Christianity is rejected. But so vague and unreal is the notion of the Messiah's days, which the Old Testament gives to those who reject a suffering Messiah, that they cannot trust themselves to depict it. Indeed, they have nothing to depict. All they can say is, that the time past of human history has been mere preparation for the true Teacher: preparation for a man like ourselves, after all, with an extraordinary endowment of divine graces. So the arrogant faiths of Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism have only served to "pave the way for the coming of the King Messiah, when all will worship the Lord with one accord; for by means of these two religions the predictions relative to the Messiah, and the Law and its precepts, have been diffused throughout the world, and have penetrated to distant isles." But how can the Rabbi say that Christianity has served (notwithstanding its admixture of error) to teach the worship of one God to a heathen world, and to promulgate the pure and lofty doctrines of the Bible? Nothing can be more absurd and inconsistent than every conclusion of the Jewish apologist. The world is prepared for the Messiah by a world-wide missionary institute that declares He has already come, and spreads everywhere what the Jews regard as the most blasphemous fables concerning Him. The futility of every argument is only equalled by its pride and bigotry.

But, forgiving all the vituperation of Christianity which is thus set before the Christian public, we have only a wondering pity for the exhibition which is thus brought home to us of the amazing desperation of faith that still clings to the hope of a carnal Messiah. There is nothing more wonderful in the history of the human species than this. The Jews have been visited in every way with the Divine displeasure, they have lost their temple, and sacrifices, and land, without the possibility, let their vanity prompt what expectations it may, of the restoration of all these things. Age after age, millennium after millennium passes by, and still they have no resentment against Providence, but wait for the appointed time of the vision. According to their own teachers their hope is a blind and maddened presumption: for "our redemption will come on the day, at the hour, when we shall have rendered ourselves worthy of it, by our obedience: the time when the Divine promise will be fulfilled depends upon our sincere penitence and good works; upon our steadfast adherence to, and faithful observance of, the precepts of the Lord." The Jewish

theory shuts out the thought of mercy, through an intercessor—one with God and man; and claims to deal with God on the ground of its merit! Then alas for Israel!

Strongly as we have been compelled to speak of the anti-Christian tone of this volume, there is much in it that we have noted with respect, and from which we all may learn some lessons. Speaking on the festival of Pentecost, which has some connection with the giving of the law, the preacher makes this appeal:—

“Am I demanding too much from you? My friends, the ancient Greeks had one sentence which they believed to have descended from heaven,—that excellent maxim ‘know thyself;’ and, to evince their gratitude and veneration for this gift, they caused it to be engraved in letters of gold on the temple they held most sacred. We, more favoured than they, have not one *sentence*, but one *book*—the Book of books—which in very truth has descended from heaven to us. . . . But, alas, if we look from *what should be to what is*, how sad and disheartening a spectacle meets our view. Unto many, many of us, this—the handbook of the civilised world—remains a garden enclosed, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed. We see our sons and daughters enjoying the advantages of the so-called liberal education, but the Torah alone lies neglected, forsaken. Parents provide their children with instruction in numerous languages, but they except the sacred one—the language in which God speaks to us, and in which we speak to God. . . . ‘Be diligent in studying the law.’ Study it in the same holy language in which the Lord revealed it unto us. I cannot too strongly impress upon you the fact that a thorough knowledge of the sacred text is the trustiest weapon to disarm the attacks of the seducer who would shake your belief. Study our law by the help of the light shed upon it by our sages and commentators, those great and wise men who devoted their lives to the exposition of the Torah. Try to gain some knowledge of our wondrous literature, which, varied as it is, springs from, and revolves in wider or narrower circles, one immediate centre—the Bible.”—P. 174.

These words contain wholesome exhortation. If the assaulted foundations of our faith are to be intelligently defended, the Jewish and the Christian Scriptures must be more generally studied, and studied with more earnest and absorbing devotion than they are. No pursuits, we are persuaded, will more abundantly repay the Christian student, and bring in a larger revenue of profit to the Christian community, than the cultivation of the literature of the two Testaments by all Christians, and especially by the ministers of the Church of God. Next to that, however, in importance is the habit of exercising a vigilant jealousy over the selection of the authors whose commentaries are read, and of reading them always as

secondary helps. The chief among the subordinate causes of the persistent enmity of Judaism to Christianity is the slavery of the Jews to Rabbinical interpretation: a slavery that has nothing like it in the history of the human literature. The eternal appeal is to the "wise men" and the "Rabbis," and their dicta settle everything. They have for ages kept the Israelite mind fast bound in the chains of darkness: and the great emancipation will not come until the Holy Spirit of God removes the veil and gives them "liberty." We as Christians should learn from them a lesson of caution. There are multitudes of interpreters who are endeavouring to rob the Old Testament of its inspiration first, and then by consequence, of all connection with the New. Let the Scriptures themselves be more thoroughly and habitually studied in their original tongues, and then let the commentators be most carefully chosen.

The same strain of earnest exhortation gives this little volume a considerable dignity in many places. For instance the sermon is occasionally closed by a very impressive appeal to a young congregant, on occasion of his openly professing the faith of his fathers and becoming a "son of the law." One of these we may quote, not only for its interest as greeting a new member of the congregation, but as showing how the sanctities of family life are observed among the descendants of Abraham.

"Yes, brethren, if we would learn how to gain eternal bliss for ourselves, we must turn to the Torah, the law of God. There, in no obscure and enigmatic words, but in language intelligible to the meanest capacity thou art taught, Israel, what the Lord thy God requireth of thee. To fear the Lord thy God, to walk in His ways, and to love Him, and to serve the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul. Out of this holy book you have this day read to us, my young friend. You have declared it to be the 'law of truth,' by means of which God has planted eternal life in our midst. Determine this day to be henceforth faithful to its holy teachings, to make its lessons the rule of your life! Ah! you stand in need of that blessed staff, religion, to guide and support you. It has pleased the Lord to take your father from you in holy childhood—truly a hard and bitter lot! But you have not been forsaken. The Lord has spoken to you the blessed words which you have read to the assembled congregation, 'I am thy portion and thine inheritance among the children of Israel! He has guarded and shielded your childhood. He has left you a fond mother, loving relatives, to care and provide for you, teachers who implant the fear of God in your heart, who imbue your mind with knowledge. Show yourself grateful to them; strive to be a worthy pupil of the school that educates

you; strive to become a worthy son of your departed father. Though his body sleep in the dust, his soul watches over you with undying affection. And, even, as during his lifetime he placed his hands upon your head, on Sabbaths and on festivals, praying to the Lord that He might make thee as our pious forefathers, as Ephraim and as Manasseh, that He might redeem thee from all evil, so he still implores for you the blessing of Him who is 'the Father of the fatherless.' The Lord bless thee and keep thee. The Lord make His face shine upon thee and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace. Amen!"—P. 124.

This gives a very touching exhibition of what has in every age been a beautiful characteristic of Hebrew religion. We will give another extract of the same kind, the moral teaching of which deserves to find its way into every household :—

"Fathers, listen to the exhortation of our sages : 'He who withholds instruction from his child, robs him, as it were, of the inheritance of his ancestors,'—the inheritance consecrated by the tears and hearts' blood of his ancestors. Mothers, we hear much spoken nowadays of the rights and privileges of women. Let me beg you to consider it your noblest privilege, your most precious right, to train your children in the fear of God. 'Wherein does the merit of the woman of Israel consist? In causing their children to learn the word of God early in life!' And in truth, the piety of all future generations depends upon the *early* instruction which the child receives. Mothers, you love your children ; you pray for their happiness daily, hourly. Remember, that surround them as you may with all the luxuries that wealth can purchase, with all the pleasures your loving care may provide, yet they will not be truly happy unless their minds have been imbued with the sacred lessons of religion, and unless they practise them in their lives."—P. 175.

We close with the final Jewish aspiration, that the law may be known to the world :—

"Let us, then, all give to the world the example of unqualified obedience, unwavering attachment, to God's Law. Let us go forth full of trust and confidence to await the time when the Law of Sinai shall burst upon the world in all its divine, enlightening, irradiating glory ; when the whole of mankind shall acknowledge its excellence ; when the glory of the Lord shall again be revealed, and when all the people of the earth, whom He loveth, shall lie down at His feet, and everyone shall obey His eternal, immutable Law. Amen."—P. 176.

We add our *Amen!* but pray that, not the law only, but the Glad Tidings with the Law, may soon overspread the earth.

LITERARY NOTICES.

The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

After the Authorised Version, newly compared with the Original Greek, and Revised. By Henry Alford, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. Strahan and Co. 1869.

It is well known that five clergymen, of whom Dean Alford was one, had published conjointly a revision of the Authorised Version of the Gospel by St. John, and the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians. Dean Alford has been made the heir of their labours, and, so far as the books we have named are concerned, this is, with the exception of a very few passages, only a republication of the former revision. For the revision of the other books Dean Alford alone is responsible.

The total result is, we do not hesitate to say, very valuable. We cannot but think, however, that the Dean may greatly enhance the value of the revision in another edition. Occasionally his principle of being guided exclusively in his judgment of readings by the external evidence as illustrated and interpreted by certain critical maxims of great sagacity and of very high value, has, in our opinion, misled him. We can never concede that internal evidence is to be altogether set aside, that the more incongruous and absurd any reading may be, the more overwhelmingly certain it is, if it be one of the most ancient readings, that it must be the true one. On this point we cannot but agree with the remarks made by Dr. David Brown in his Commentary on Matt. xix. 17. We therefore reject as absurd and intolerable the reading which Dean Alford adopts for that verse: "Why askest thou Me concerning good? (literally *the* good) There is One that is good." But we also reject it for another reason. Dean Alford would argue that, as the reading sustained by the highest ancient external evidence, this reading must be accepted notwithstanding its apparent incongruity and inferiority in point of fitness to the received text. We reply that, viewed from the proper point, the Dean's principle warrants the opposite conclusion to that which he has deduced. We have no doubt that the real and original reading was: "Why callest thou Me good? There is none good but One," &c.; and that this reading was put out in some copies, and the philosophic-seeming question, "Why

askest thou Me concerning [the] good?" substituted for it, just because orthodox and theological gloss-makers imagined it to be incongruous with our Lord's character and claims for Him to speak as the received text makes Him speak. On the principle, then, that the received text, while really and beautifully congruous and Christ-like, as expositors have now learnt to see, was, to the apprehension of some early critics—in an age when theology as a system was as yet imperfectly defined and developed, and when, concurrently, a strain of philosophic tendency and culture was beginning to try experiments and issues with the letter of the Divine Word—inconsistent with the character and glory of Christ, we take the benefit of the very maxim, rightly applied, which, misapplied, might seem to favour the reading adopted by the Dean. We reject this reading as to us manifestly incongruous and absurd; we reject it as evidently invented under the influence of theological bias; we reject it as plainly tinctured with a sort of philosophic phraseology ("concerning *the good*"—a philosophic abstraction—a Platonic and Alexandrian phrase—Dean Alford should not, we think, have omitted to give the article); and for such reasons, we unhesitatingly hold to the received reading, although the weight of merely external ancient evidence does preponderate to the contrary.

In another place we have to find fault with Dean Alford for an opposite reason. He has omitted to correct his translation, where the received text is, by confession of all critics, himself included, clearly wrong, and where to retain the received text is to retain feebleness and obscurity in the translation, instead of clearness and point. In Acts ix. 20, the Dean still reads, with the Authorised Version, "preached *Christ* in the synagogues, that He is the Son of God," instead of "preached *Jesus*." The reasons for the amendment may be seen in the Dean's own commentary on the passage. But a thoughtful English reader will not fail to apprehend the fitness and, indeed, necessity of the change, if he considers the meaning of the words "this name," in the verse following, and if he further notes the last clause of verse 22.

We observe that Dean Alford has not had the courage to correct the translation of Col. ii. 12. In verse 11 there is *ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιεμήθητε*, which cannot but be rendered "in whom ye were also circumcised;" in verse 12 there is *ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀνυψήθητε*, which ought plainly, and by parity of reason and relation, to be rendered "in whom also ye were raised together." But it would be too cruel to rob the teachers of baptismal regeneration of this, almost their only direct proof text; the Dean still leaves it "*wherein* ye were also raised," &c., making it refer to the word *baptism* foregoing. We cannot doubt that, in a new edition Dean Alford will remove this blot from his work. Let him refer to the passages in Eph. i., verses 7, 11, 13, and mark the recurrence and reference of the *ἐν ᾧ*.

In Rom. v. 4, the Dean's translation is "and endurance, approval; and approval, hope." But surely here the authorised rendering *experience* is more correct, and many degrees more expressive and suitable than *approval*. Neither word, indeed, expresses the significance of the

Greek word, and there is no single English word that will. The meaning clearly is that by *endurance* a *test* is afforded of spiritual condition, of the power of divine grace, of the Christian's relations with God; by *endurance proof* is given to the Christian as to these points. But the word *approval* by no means expresses what is thus meant.

We are glad to observe in Matt. xxvi. 28, and in Luke xxii. 20, that instead of *testament* the Dean gives the only admissible translation—*covenant*, thus restoring the associations with the Paschal institute and the "old covenant," which the use of the word *testament* so completely obscures. But we are surprised and dissatisfied to find that although everywhere else throughout the New Testament, everywhere else throughout the very Epistle to the Hebrews itself, and especially throughout the eighth and ninth chapters, down to the fifteenth verse in the ninth chapter, and also in the tenth and following chapters, the Greek word *διαθήκη* is rendered *covenant*, yet in the sixteenth verse of the ninth chapter the word *covenant* is suddenly, and without notice or transition, changed into *testament*, and so remains *testament*, not *covenant*, in verses 17—20, never to be so rendered again. This we hold is altogether indefensible. We are perfectly well aware that the change is made in order to escape a difficulty in the rendering of verses 16—20, but we cannot allow that any such difficulty can warrant such a change. These are blemishes, and there are other such. Still we can hardly open anywhere, especially in the Epistles and Revelation, without recognising the quiet but serviceable improvements that have been made in the translation. Nowhere is there any needless departure from the language of the Authorised Version. The style of that unequalled standard is closely adhered to. But the omission or alteration of but a word will often throw great light on the meaning of the text, and much light will by the careful reader be gained from this volume.*

The New Testament. The Authorised English Version, with Introduction and Various Readings, from the Three most celebrated Manuscripts of the Original Greek Text. By Constantine Tischendorf. London: Sampson Low. Leipzig: Bernard Tauchnitz.

ALL English travellers on the Continent are familiar with the beautiful pocket editions of English authors published by Bernard Tauchnitz. They are marvels of continental typography, and no less wonderful in price. Having issued nine hundred and ninety volumes, the enterprising Baron determined that the *thousandth* volume of the series should be the New Testament, in the Authorised Version. Under the editorship of Constantine Tischendorf, a scholar every way worthy of the distinction thus accorded to him, this monumental volume has been recently published, with a dedication by the Baron "to my

* Let us be permitted to suggest to Dean Alford that by a stricter rendering of 1 Cor. iii. 5, very great increase of force is obtained. We should render, "Who, then, is Apollos, and who Paul? *Servants*, through whom ye believed, even as the Master gave to each."

English and American authors, as a token of esteem for the living, and a tribute of remembrance to the dead."

Professor Tischendorf, who "has explored the libraries of Europe as well as the recesses of monasteries in the Asiatic and African East, in search of the most ancient copies of Holy Scripture," and who has been amply and brilliantly rewarded for his patient toil and his pious devotion, by the discovery of the Sinaitic Codex, has enriched this volume with an introduction, and with the various readings of the Sinaitic, Alexandrian, and Vatican manuscripts. In his citations he has failed to notice some important alterations; and probably critical readers would object to his estimate of the paramount value of the oldest manuscripts as compared with those of later date. But on the whole the editorial work is worthy of the accomplished scholar who has spent some thirty years in the diligent and conscientious endeavour "to restore on the basis of scientific research the very original text of the Apostles."

The Authorised Version of the New Testament is worthy of the profoundest reverence, not only because of its traditions, but because of its wonderful accuracy. "The English Church," says Tischendorf, "possesses in it a national treasure." But the Greek text on which this version is based, that of Erasmus and Robert Stephens, was founded by them on codices all of which are later than the tenth century. Since the days of Erasmus and Stephens, Greek copies of the New Testament have been discovered which date far back beyond the tenth century, and which (in conjunction with very ancient copies of Syriac, Egyptian, Latin, and Gothic versions, as well as of Christian Fathers, who wrote in the second and following centuries, and who cite many texts from the New Testament) furnish new and most valuable materials towards the construction of a pure text. It does not follow absolutely that the most ancient readings are the most correct, though this seems to be the Professor's view. Many of the earliest editions of Shakespeare exhibit serious variations and corruptions; and, in like manner, as early as the fourth century the manuscripts of the New Testament abound in various readings. But whatever the *exact* value of the three codices, with which Tischendorf compares the English text in this edition, there can be no question as to their importance to the Biblical critic.

The *Codex Alexandrinus*, which is in the British Museum, was presented to Charles the First, in the year 1628, by Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, who brought it originally from Alexandria, of which city he had formerly been patriarch. An Arabic inscription on the first leaf of the manuscript, evidently many centuries old, states that it was written by St. Thecla, the martyr; and that it was given to the Patriarchal Chamber in the year answering to A.D. 1098. A note in the handwriting of Cyril attributes the work to the fourth century. Dr. Tregelles, however, has ingeniously explained the supposed connection of Thecla with the codex, and he, with all the best critics, assigns the work to the fifth century. It contains the whole of the Old

Testament, but is imperfect in the New. St. Matthew's Gospel is wanting up to chapter xxv. 6. St. John vi. 50 to viii. 52 is also lost, as well as three leaves from 2 Cor. iv. 13 to xii. 6. But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, it is of great importance to the critic, "inasmuch as it exhibits a text more nearly approaching that found in the later copies than is read in others of its high antiquity."

The *Codex Vaticanus*, one of the oldest manuscripts in existence, is laid up in the Vatican, at Rome. It is entered in the first catalogue of the library, which is dated 1475, but nothing is known of its previous history. On many grounds it is supposed to belong to the middle of the fourth century. It contains the Old Testament, and the New as far as to the 14th verse of the 9th chapter of the Hebrews. All after that has been lost. Opinions are much divided as to its critical value; but, though it may be regarded as having as much weight as any other codex, it would be absurd to exalt its importance above others of nearly equal age and authority. Doubtless the Vatican codex has gained a special interest from the capricious jealousy with which it has been guarded by the authorities at Rome.

The *Codex Sinaiticus* is naturally the manuscript to which Professor Tischendorf attaches the most importance. The history of its discovery is a chapter of romance. When travelling in 1844, he visited the convent of St. Catharine, on Mount Sinai, and was allowed to cull from the waste basket of the convent forty-three leaves of the Septuagint, which, in compliment to his sovereign, he subsequently published as the *Codex Frederico-Augustanus*. Finding that there were further portions extant, in order to save them from destruction, he enlightened the Sinaitic monks as to their value. It is needless to say that he lost his chance of obtaining the remnant. But when in 1859 he visited the convent, under the patronage of the Emperor Alexander II., he was allowed to see the whole codex; and, at length, to bring it to Europe as a tribute of gratitude to the sovereign who had protected the Oriental Church. It contains the Old and New Testaments, the latter "not having been deprived of a single leaf." It is assigned to the middle of the fourth century, and it is not impossible, says Tischendorf, that it "formed one of the fifty copies of the Bible, which, in the year 331, the Emperor Constantine ordered to be executed for Constantinople, under the direction of Eusebius."

These "three primitive witnesses" the Professor summoned to his aid in confirming and rectifying the sacred text, rightly assuming that their preservation for fourteen or fifteen centuries is of the good providence of God, and that a conscientious study of them is due to Him, through whose interposition they have been saved to the Church. While they minister to the endeavours of the critic after a pure and accurate text, they go far towards strengthening the confidence in the substantial correctness of the text which we possess, and from which they differ in no vital point.

The Tauchnitz edition of the New Testament is a real boon to the scholar, and to the less learned student. To the latter especially this

little volume must prove a signal benefit. At a trifling expense, and in a condensed form, he can command the most valuable evidence of the general integrity of the received text, while, at the same time, he is presented with the most trustworthy of the various readings. It is to be regretted that the usefulness of the book should be somewhat lessened by the absence of marginal readings and references, without which no edition of the New Testament can be regarded as critically complete. If this serious defect should be remedied in a future issue, the publisher and the editor will deserve the gratitude of all devout readers of our English Testament for this timely publication. It is portable in size, clear in type, and both tasteful and useful in binding. And we cannot forbear to express the hope that, so far as the publisher is concerned, the undertaking will prove as profitable in result as it is graceful in idea.

The Catholic Doctrine of the Atonement. An Historical Inquiry into the Development of the Church. With an Introduction on the Principle of Theological Developments. By H. N. Oxenham, M.A. Second Edition. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Waterloo Place. 1869.

It is not long since we directed attention to Dr. Hodge's volume on "The Atonement." In that able work the famous American Presbyterian of the old school, the ancient college-friend of Bishop McIlvaine, gives a capital digest of the argument on the Atonement, and a summary of different views which have prevailed, with a view to defining and establishing his own decidedly Calvinistic form of doctrine. In the volume before us a liberal "Catholic" gives us the results of an historical investigation of the whole subject. His personal views stand in contrast with those of Dr. Hodge. It is well that the two volumes should stand side by side in the library of the theological student. The result will probably be to confirm evangelical Arminians in a form of theological statement which is neither Romanist on the one hand, nor Calvinistic on the other. Mr. Oxenham is one of the class which one of themselves has taught us to designate by the conveniently equivocal word "'Verts.'" He was formerly a scholar of "Balliol College." He is evidently a great admirer of Father Newman, whom he is perpetually quoting; and, like Newman, he is too thoughtful, too English, too independent, to be altogether trusted or liked by genuine Papists. He is as free from bitterness against the Church he has left as Mr. Ffoulkes. Unlike Mr. Ffoulkes, however, he indulges in no criticism of the communion he has joined. Nevertheless he has not been able, any more than Mr. Ffoulkes, to escape the hostility of the *Dublin Review*. Mr. Oxenham has not only reviewed without bitterness the arguments and opinions of Protestant divines, but he has ventured to speak with some degree of reasonable frankness of Thomas Aquinas and the schoolmen. Such a writer could hardly expect to escape the condemnation of Ultramontanes. Accordingly he has found it necessary to publish a

pamphlet, entitled *Dishonest Criticism :—Some Remarks on Two Articles in the Dublin Review*.

So far as this volume is a history of the doctrine of the Atonement, it has, within our knowledge, no rival in our language. Wherever, however, the author expounds his own views, he not only of necessity shows himself to be a genuine Tridentine as to the doctrine of the Atonement, but he also upholds (in its most refined and plausible form) all that is contained in the Tridentine expositions respecting the doctrine of the Mass. If out of this work it were possible to withdraw all that belongs to the Popish sacramental superstition, and a number of touches, besides, of legendary superstition, it would leave behind comparatively little of doctrinal exposition to be seriously objected to. But the Popish dogmas as to baptism and the mass preclude a true doctrine, either of justification or of sanctification; and no ability, no fencing, no art of exposition, can effect a real union and harmony between the "beggarly elements," the "rudiments of the world," the carnal superstitions, which constitute the specific sacramental theology of Roman Catholicism, and the spiritual doctrines of Christianity, truly understood. Besides which, Mr. Oxenham in his view of theological developments advances beyond even his master Newman, and does not scruple to expound and defend the last and most daring of the Roman heresies, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Mr. Oxenham is very learned, is eloquent after the high-coloured Roman manner, is calm and candid in temper, is conciliatory in statement, argument, and general theological tendency. He gravely condemns, but without bitterness, the old Lutheran theology as to atonement and justification; he differs, of course, fundamentally from Calvin; but yet he professes to agree substantially with Baxter (!), of whom he speaks in terms of high praise and admiration. He represents in this country the liberal, and at the same time spiritual, school of Romanist theology which, in Germany, is represented by the celebrated Döllinger, of whom Mr. Oxenham is a personal friend, and whose writings he has translated into our language. He has no sympathy with Ultramontanism, but, like Mr. Ffoulkes, longs after general Christian reunion. A Protestant will find in his book many grave errors, but still we know of no book which will furnish the valuable information which is impartially presented in this volume.

The Son of Man: Discourses on the Humanity of Jesus Christ. By Frank Coulin, D.D., Minister of the National Church of Geneva. London: Stodder and Stoughton.

It is a healthful sign that the world's attention is being turned to a more careful contemplation of the life of Jesus of Nazareth. Some of the estimates formed of that life may be false. By their obvious or exposed error they will bear unwitting testimony. The manifestation of Jesus is the publishing of the Gospel which He embodied, which He in the name of God spoke to the world. Let the fervour of friends and

the folly of fierce opponents assail this character, the one to reveal its acknowledged truth and beauty, the other to seek deformity and contradiction. The believer in Jesus may abide in faith, the words ever present to him, "The prince of this world cometh and hath nothing in Me. Which of you convinceth Me of sin?"

The reverent, loyal spirit of Dr. Coulin enters upon the task with the following and like words, "To speak of Thee, of Thee only, O Jesus, my beloved Master, and to follow the path Thou hast Thyself chosen, of manifesting Thy glory beneath the mantle of Thy humiliation, is it not enough to make a heart leap which loves Thee, and for which Thou hast done so much?"

It is impossible not to catch the author's enthusiastic admiration for his "beloved Master," as it is impossible to imagine him wanting in a due regard for the dignity and grandeur of His character. This is needed to check a revulsion produced by the reading of such passages as the following: "'Who is He, then?' has been asked in turns by all nations; 'who is, then, this mighty and invisible Being, of whose glory the heavens speak, who fills all space with His presence, who makes the universe His temple, from whom all things proceed, to whom they all return, who is, who has been, who will be?'" He asserts His existence, He awes us, He has sanctuaries built for Him everywhere; but His face is mystery, and no mortal has yet been able to draw aside His veil. My brethren, eighteen centuries ago there appeared a mortal who affirmed that He had drawn aside this veil for ever; who even declared that He presented the likeness of the invisible God in His own person to those who contemplate Him. A Son of Man once dared to say to His fellow-creatures: 'No man knoweth who the Father is, but the Son;' and to add, 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father.' This pretension of Jesus of Nazareth is unique in history, and it is assuredly awful, if not founded in truth. He stated it without reserve, and in all its enormity, first to the disciples, then in presence of the people, then before the rulers, then before the world. It is true that this pretension recalls and presupposes another still more extraordinary. He was, He said Himself, in the beginning with God, in the bosom of God, the only Son of God, and only became man for the precise purpose of removing every veil from the eyes of man, and of showing him the face of God." —P. 3. "It is a bold undertaking to challenge Him with. . . But who is it then who thus speaks, and what place does He assume amongst us?" "My brethren, we must know what we are to believe. We will closely question Him who comes to us with enormous and exorbitant pretensions. We will question Him as to His rights, I promise you. Inasmuch as we are men, we have conditions to propose to this man before according Him the homage to which He lays claim."—P. 47.

Nothing but an inward sense of reverence, which the words do not reveal, would justify such presumption. But no reader of this book will conclude its author to be wanting in reverent love, or wanting in a just estimate of the essential glory of the Son of Man. His words are the overflowings of an exuberant confidence. But is it a wise thing for a

disciple so to speak of putting his Master to the test? It is easier too to suggest possible difficulties than to allay actual doubts. Does it not savour of a self-confidence which might well be put to the blush in the presence of so august a subject? Am I competent to question the "pretensions" of the Son of Man? Can I answer my own question when it is proposed? Such thoughts rushed into our mind when reading the earlier pages of this book. We are bound to say, however, whatever hesitation we had when reading the questions for the first time, we could read the replies only with thankful delight. He has answered his own queries, and many besides. He who wrote this book must have gazed upon the face of Jesus Christ, till in it he gained knowledge of the glory of God.

But there is another instance in which boldness verges towards presumption. To attempt to resolve into elements what seemed to be a unit; to analyse the person of Christ; to attempt to read His life in the absence of a chief factor of that life; in other words, to place one's self "on the level of those who do not share 'the belief' of this pre-existence of Christ," and to speak "as of a man of the Son of Man," seems to us a dangerous experiment. Possibly the position is assumed to show that it is untenable, that another element, beyond all those that inhere in the common humanity, is wanting. This is, indeed, confessed, though it so far detracts from the reality of the position assumed. "I shall go forth to meet Him on the high road of history. I shall take His name as I find it in the annals of the human race, in the genealogical tree of our common family. If He has a more noble parentage, so much the better. The light of it will be reflected upon us. I shall not clasp His hand less warmly when I call Him my brother. Do not imagine that I am embarrassed by confining myself to this special point of view. Quite the contrary; for if Christian doctrine is founded upon the person of Jesus Christ, you will observe that it implies two things, of which there is, in my opinion, equal proof. The first is His real and evident humanity, the second that this humanity is stamped with such a seal that it is impossible not to go higher in order to explain it."—P. 5.

It is certain that many of the acts of Christ which especially bind His life to our hearts are acts which we feel to come within the scope of possible human performance. But we must have the qualities of mind which are displayed in greater measure than can be found in individual men; and we must have the completed circle of such qualities; and we must preserve them in their exercise with equability and regularity. In these respects, in which Jesus was perfect, we fail. And beyond these is the range of the miraculous. Here Jesus leaves us. He walks upon the water, and we cannot go to Him. Our author fails not to show that to compare Jesus' life with human standards is to lift Him to a region far removed from us—to place Him on an unapproachable pedestal.

The chief models of ancient sculpture which have been preserved to us are so placed that the student may view them from every point and

in every light. So has our author gazed upon this lovely image of the Son of Man. But the rudest natures, as the most cultured, can look over the whole surface of the marble; yet the one will see none of the beauty and truth which will immediately appear to the other. It is a further attainment to be able to describe. M. Coulin has not only the faculty of the seer, he can reveal what he has seen. Not a line or shadow is here which many of us had not discerned before, yet how few, having seen, could so describe. He has not only seen, but loved. For none other than one enamoured of his object could thus speak. His cultured heart has traced the lines of grace and beauty in that inimitable image of truth, of goodness, and of love.

The whole work is a demonstration of the glory of Christ. Beautiful are the words in which he speaks of "Jesus of Nazareth," of "The Holy One and the Just," of "The Man of Sorrows," "The Risen One," and "The King," the subjects of these five discourses, to which is appended one on "The Teachings of Jesus Christ."

We are unwilling to pen a single word in objection to the brilliant views of this book. But these are exceptional times. Men are endeavouring to work out in words the problem of the Atonement. And we are constrained to look with unusual carefulness whenever this sacred subject is approached. We do not charge our author with erroneous views, we have words to quote which show we have no need to do so; and in a monograph a full treatment of outlying topics ought not to be looked for. Yet a work which, even incidentally, takes up, as part of a whole, a consideration of "the immolation of the Holy One and the Just, His voluntary descent into the abyss of grief, of death and malediction," may be closely questioned.

That we may not misinterpret him, we will quote his own words. "Having claimed righteousness, perfect righteousness for His character, to-day, by a natural transition, we shall claim suffering as His destiny, and we will say at once, the perfection of suffering."—P. 106. "Humanity undertook for once to give an example of its infamy in order to bring out the unexampled sublimity of the virtue of the Son of Man."—P. 132. "The bodily pain, great as it was, was but the envelope, it is in the mental torture that we must seek for the essence, the real cause of His sufferings."

"We will pass over the poignant details which present themselves at every step in the path of the passion:—the sleep of the disciples, the denial of Peter, the farewell to His mother. These are but the thorns of the crown. Let us go to the centre, and fix our attention on the suffering which crowns all the rest; that which Plato seems to have vaguely foreseen, when he says of his ideal righteous man: 'I would expose him to infamy and its tortures,' and which Holy Scripture, in its language of divine boldness and exact precision, expresses in these terms: 'He was made sin for us who knew no sin!' 'Who His own self bare our sins!' 'Being made a curse for us!' Rest assured, my brethren, that I shall not attempt to explain a mystery to you, of which the angels themselves can but, as it were, approach the edge. We do

not understand it, but we may, nevertheless, gain instruction in our efforts to comprehend it. We are on the edge of an abyss. I am trying to find a path which will lead us, not to the bottom, but from which we can look down into its depths."—Pp. 137-8. We admire this as the honest confession of one who shrinks from speaking too confidently where so many have spoken rashly and in error. Yet, would not a few passages of Holy Scripture, though no interpretation had been given of them, have said with authority what men may well shrink from saying in their own language? We may not be able to descend to the utmost abyss, but ought we not to go as far as the hand of inspiration, holding ours, would lead us? We could wish that one who has shown so great a courage in summoning adversaries and so great a skill in combating them, had spoken with equal skill on the central mystery of our redemption. Immeasurable sufferings do not explain or reach the limit of the work of Christ. Though we need not speak of it in the bold and hard language some have used, and which is more fitted to describe a transaction of commerce than that sacred work by which God would reconcile the world unto Himself, yet we ought not by such language to be scared away from the subject altogether.

There are elements in the sacrificial system which call for their antitype; there are demands of conscience to be appeased. And there is the bearing of the work of Jesus on the administration of the Judge of the whole earth; on what we cannot see it wrong to call the moral government of the universe.

Certainly, in the view of our author, sin is bitterly condemned: and we only ask the question whether, in his programme, a more definite reference to these essential aspects of the Atonement was not fairly included.

But we forbear. Let our author speak for himself. "All the bitterness that can be distilled from sin pervades His spirit, like a potion of which He is not willing to lose a drop. It is the hour of mystery, before which every conscience is arrested, and, in its trouble, feels impelled to throw its burden on the head of the holy victim. 'If it be possible, let this cup pass from Me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' As Thou wilt, that is to say that I offer my soul as an oblation; as Thou wilt, that is to say that I submit if it must be: let Me bear the burden of my brother. Let them immolate Him now! Let them load Him with insult and curses! Let them insult even His righteousness. It is not He, it is ourselves, it is sin! He must die, He feels it, He must and will. Some few sighs escape His lips: 'I thirst,' 'My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?'—P. 145.

"We thus perceive a new, unique, and absolute sense in which it may be said, that it was necessary that Christ should die. And I will conclude by saying (however strange this proposition may sound), that in a world like ours, a death like His was nothing less than the very crowning act of His perfection, and the supreme consummation of His plan and redemption."—P. 148. Speaking, again, of the objection to

doctrine, and referring to the point before us, he says, "The question of pardon. The point is, whether the goodness of God, His tender and paternal character, is not sufficient, whether the whole gospel is not contained in these words: 'Go in peace, thy sins are forgiven thee;' whether it is really necessary to encumber it with all this apparatus of mediation, of sacrifice, of a Saviour 'who was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification.' Will you venture to say that on this point Jesus has no doctrine; that is to say, no categorical assertion? What did He mean, then, when on His entrance on His ministry, He laid so much stress on recalling the prophecies announcing the coming of a Redeemer, to show the accomplishment of them in His person? What did He mean, then, by demonstrating so many times, and by so many methods, both before and after the event, that it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day? What did He mean by presenting Himself as the object of the faith which justifies and regenerates the sinner? 'As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up: that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life?' What did He mean by instituting the supper on the eve of His sacrifice, and by afterwards giving it as a mission to His disciples, to testify to the world of His death and resurrection? Suppress the teaching of the Son of Man on this point, and for the second time you will have turned the edifice upside down, you will have reduced it to ashes."—P. 292.

"He proclaims that He possesses divinity by becoming incarnate to accomplish a perfect work of reconciliation. That a sacrifice was needed for the expiation of sin, He proclaims by Himself consummating this sacrifice upon the Cross, after having announced, and in some sort instituted it beforehand. That man can only be saved freely by means of faith, is a truth, henceforth the hope of the world, which He establishes and proclaims by presenting to the world the object of this faith, which is to give it life—Jesus Christ and Him crucified."—P. 298. We are glad to be able to quote such passages as these and the following:—"What is the work in question? To proclaim the doctrine of original sin? To prove the divinity of Jesus Christ? To spread sound views on expiation? By no means; you may get all that when you want it with very little pains, and to very little profit. The work is to awaken men's consciences, to bring souls captive to the obedience of Christ. It is to persuade poor sinners, desperately lost, to accept an unhopèd-for and indispensable substitution. This is the work in hand. This it is which alone will rejoice the angels in heaven. This alone it is which for eighteen centuries upon earth has been called evangelisation."—P. 299.

These are definite statements on this all-important subject, which we very gladly quote.

Brilliant indeed, and as powerful as brilliant, is the chapter on "The Risen One." Here with characteristic skill the evidences of the Resurrection are tested; and especially the credibility of the witnesses. It

is, however, a daring feat to poise the whole structure of Christianity upon the truth of one single fact, and to attempt to prove it safe. This is done in the case of the Resurrection. Here it is easier to conjure up difficulties than to dissipate them when they appear; but with no lack of freedom in summoning adversaries, he ably shows in presence of them the firm foundation on which our faith may repose.

With keen sarcasm does he reply to those who shrink from "the admission of a supernatural event;" and to others of "that school now so much in vogue, which, condemning all precise assertion and settled formula, makes the strange pretension of having the sovereign example of the Master on its side." He says: "But if it means that the Master's words do not contain an implicit and explicit, that is to say, most dogmatic answer to all the great questions that oppress the soul of man in the field of religious thought, if it means that He did not settle the basis and trace the main lines of a definite doctrine—the only doctrine which, proceeding from Him, deserves the name of evangelic—then I do not know of any pretension more manifestly erroneous."—P. 289.

His exhortations to ministers at the close of the book cannot be read by them without profit.

This tribute to the glory of Christ Jesus, from the heart of reverent love, is a most seasonable reply to the attacks which have lately been made on the person and character of the Messiah, especially suitable to reply to that coarse infidelity of the Continent so much of which has been bred in the mud which the retiring wave of a false Catholicism has left upon the minds of the masses of the people.

Miscellaneous Poems. By the Rev. J. Keble, M.A. James Parker and Co. Oxford and London. 1869.

THIS volume is edited by Mr. Moberly, the last Bampton Lecturer, and Mr. Keble's friend for thirty years. Some of the poems now for the first time published are very beautiful, and others are interesting and valuable, because of the light which they throw upon the history and development of Keble's character and opinions.

Mr. Moberly is a High Churchman after Keble's own heart; like Keble, not Protestant, nor Anglican, but essentially Tridentine, in doctrine; but also, like Keble, thoroughly English in his tastes, and devotedly attached to the Church of England, as known in England's country parishes, with its chaste and seemly, its simple and unostentatious ritual, and with its surrounding net-work of family sympathies, parochial charities, and county and diocesan connections. We have lately reviewed Mr. Moberly's Lectures on the work of the Holy Spirit, according to one part of the teaching of which volume, the saving influences of the Holy Spirit are, as it were, physically (perhaps we should say *hyperphysically*) incorporated with the priestly succession and ecclesiastical offices of the Anglo-Catholic clergy. A scholarly and disciplined divine, who could deliberately hold such views as these, was

thoroughly agreed in spirit and doctrine with Mr. Keble, and was very fit to edit his poetical remains. He has printed in this volume one poem, to which we referred in our recent review of Keble's life, and of which a great part is given by Sir J. T. Coleridge in his biography of his friend, of so advanced a character in its magnification of the Virgin Mary, that Keble's friends all agreed, while he lived, in deprecating its publication.

Keble began to write verse early, as all poets have done, and his early beginning was full of promise. The first of his pieces here given was written in 1808, when he was sixteen years old. The subject is the rising of Portugal, with the aid of England, in arms against Napoleon. The verses are spirited and elegant, and breathe out a real martial patriotism and anti-Gallicanism. The only point, however, to be noted as specially significant, is the manner in which, even at that date, the young Oxford student showed his sympathy with the life of the cloister. What Portuguese convents were in 1808 is well understood. When not demoralised and foul, they were full of ignorance, puerility, sordidness, and abject superstition. The college-poet knew no better than to write—

"And from the cell of spotless piety
The spouse of heaven, that shrank if man came near,
Moves forth," &c.

From this date (1808) onwards we have a chain of poems, many of them very beautiful, though fully bearing out, on the whole, what we said in our last number respecting the poet's want of dramatic insight and sympathy. We select to print here a love-sonnet of the date 1812, when the writer was twenty years of age.

"SONNET.

"Yes, I will stamp her image on my soul,
Though all unworthy such high portraiture
Tablet so vile—for ever to endure.
Nor, though by fits across my spirit roll
Dim clouds of anguish, shall my heart give way.
For not in weak and infant-like distress
Behoves it the fair moonlight to survey
Because we cannot grasp it: rather bless
The dear mild ray that on the throbbing heart
Falls soft as seraph's glance of kindest power,
And doth its melting loveliness impart
To all it looks upon. In happy hour
So may I frame my soul to think on thee,
Whom never but from far these worthless eyes may see."

A poem to his friend Coleridge, entitled "To J. T. C., with Petrarca," must have been sent with a copy of the Italian master of song. It reflects the highly cultivated and poetic tastes and sympathies of its writer. The loss of a sister moved his friend Newman again and again to tender strains, and several of Keble's poems were inspired by similar losses. We are interested to observe, that in 1817 Keble had not yet learnt to dishonour the memory of his Church's martyrs. Here are

"Lines sent with the Lives of Ridley and Cranmer." In these he writes—

"These are they
Who armed themselves with Prayer, and boldly tried
Wisdom's untrodden steeps, and won their way ;
God's Word their lamp, His Spirit was their guide.
These would not spare their lives for fear or ruth ;
Therefore their God was with them, and the glare
Of their death-fires still lights the land to Truth,
To show what might is in a Martyr's prayer.
Read, and rejoice ; yet humbly : for our strife
Is perilous like theirs ; for Death or Life."

On the next page is the following exquisite sonnet :—

"AT HOOKER'S TOMB.

"The grey-eyed Morn was sadden'd with a shower,
A silent shower, that trickled down so still,
Scarce droop'd beneath its weight the tenderest flower,
Scarce could you trace it on the twinkling rill,
Or moss-stone bathed in dew. It was an hour
Most meet for prayer beside thy lowly grave,
Most for thanksgiving meet, that Heaven such power
To thy serene and humble spirit gave.
'Who sow good seed with tears shall reap in joy.'
So thought I as I watch'd the gracious rain,
And deem'd it like that silent sad employ
Whence sprung thy glory's harvest, to remain
For ever. God hath sworn to lift on high
Who sinks himself by true humility."

Some lines on the celebrated monument to two children in Lichfield Cathedral are extremely beautiful. The sprightly verses, "By an Old Bachelor very disconsolate at parting with his four wives," show a pleasant sportive side of Keble's character. The sonnet following is very much to our liking.

"A HINT FOR A FABLE.

"Sun, Moon, and Stars, one day contending sought
Which should be dearest to a poet's thought.
The noonday Sun too bright and gay was found,
In trance of restless joy it whirls us round.
The Moon, too melting soft unmans the heart,
Or peeps too sily where its curtains part,
Or sweeps too wild across the stormy heaven,
Behind the rushing clouds at random driven.
Take Sun and Moon who list ; I dearer prize
The pure keen starlight with its thousand eyes,
Like heavenly sentinels around us thrown,
Lest we forget that we are not alone ;
Watching us by their own unearthly light
To show how high above our deeds are still in sight."

In reprinting the all but Mariolatrous poem entitled *Mother Out of Sight*, Sir J. T. Coleridge did not fail distinctly to state his own disapproval of its advanced doctrine. Mr. Moberly prints it without any

disclaimer or caveat. The poet apostrophises her as "Mother of God;" he writes, contrary, as we conceive, to the clear teaching of Scripture, that Jesus "calls her Mother evermore." He speaks of her as "awful Bride." He writes:—

"Therefore as kneeling day by day
We to our Father duteous pray,
So unforbidden may we speak
An Ave to Christ's Mother meek :"

and he dates his poem, "December 8. In Conceptione B.M.V." The entire effect of the poem is to teach us that Keble's inspiration and influence have been duly consummated in the teaching of those disciples of his school who, like Mr. Orby Shipley, are now propagating, as priests of the Church of England, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary.

The earlier poems in this volume remind us strongly of several which were written by his friend Newman about the same time, and some of which originally appeared in the same publication—the *Lyra Apostolica*. The same spirit of narrow, intense bigotry, the same Cassandra-like strain of foreboding, characterise the poems of both the Oxford devotees. Newman has, no doubt, grown wider in his views since he wrote those poems; Keble, it would seem, rather grew narrower than broader, almost to the end. We must find space for one specimen belonging to this period.

"THE ONE WAY.

"One only Way to life :
One Faith, deliver'd once for all ;
One holy Band, endowed with Heaven's high call ;
One earnest endless strife ;—
This is the Church, th' Eternal framed of old.

"Smooth open ways, good store ;
A Creed for every clime and age,
By Mammon's touch new moulded o'er and o'er ;
No cross, nor war to wage ;
This is the Church our earth-dimm'd eyes behold.

"But ways must have an end,
Creeds undergo the trial-flame,
Nor with th' impure the saints for ever blend,
Heaven's glory with our shame :—
Think on that hour, and choose 'twixt soft and bold."

The Gospel and Modern Life. Sermons on some of the Difficulties of the Day. With a Preface on a Recent Phase of Deism. By the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies, M.A. London and Cambridge : Macmillan and Co. 1869.

WE have always regarded Mr. Davies as the soundest thinker and wisest teacher of his school. He aims at reconciling what is true in the teaching of Professor Maurice with general orthodoxy, and with

evangelical feeling; and his is eminently a conciliatory faculty and intellect. Unlike the works of his early guide, his writing is always clear; nor does he indulge in misrepresentation and denunciation of evangelical orthodoxy. The present volume is the best specimen of his writing that we have seen. It deserves the careful and candid study of earnest, cultivated Christians, who are exposed to the force of modern questioning and speculation, in the various currents which have so strongly set in. In his preface Mr. Davies, with calm and searching strength, criticises the deistic infidelity of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. The sermons, which make up the volume, are true to their titles, which are, in succession, as follows:—*The Kingdom of Christ and the Church*, *The Kingdom of Christ and the Christian*, *The Kingdom of Christ and the World*, *Christ and Modern Knowledge*, *Humanity and the Trinity*, *Nature, Religion, the Conscience*, *Human Corruption*, *Human Holiness*, *Lives of the Saints*, *Common Worship*, *Preaching*, *Giving by Calculation*, *Public and Private Expenditure*, and *The Irish Church Question*. We had marked for quotation several very valuable passages, especially some from *The Kingdom of Christ and the Christian*; *The Kingdom of Christ and the World*; from the sermon on *Preaching*, and from those on *Giving by Calculation*, and on *Public and Private Expenditure*, which are full of generous and practical Christian wisdom, but an unexpected pressure on our limits compels us to cancel these quotations.

Religious Republics. Six Essays on Congregationalism.
London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1869.

NEVER surely was it more incumbent upon those who take an active part in the religious movements of the day to watch with anxious interest the various phases of current opinion and phraseology; and to endeavour, by a careful forecast of the future, to regulate or check, as reason may serve, the course of passing events. Yet never was the duty more difficult. Our sources of information are largely multiplied, the area of observation is certainly enlarging; every shade of thought has its organ in the press; churches and congregations of churches, which had for a century worn the aspect of an almost untroubled stillness, now toss themselves into every variety of form and colour; generalisation and classification alike becoming daily more arduous; and, as the result of the whole, he who longs only for the coming of the universal kingdom is perplexed, distrustful, and alarmed:—a soul which even beneath the altar, safe in the presence and confident of the final victory of Messiah, yet weary of delay, cries out, "How long?"

The volume before us is a collection of six essays, one by a Baptist minister, one by a physician who bears a name distinguished in Non-conformist literature, the remainder by members of the English Bar. Its proposed object "is two-fold: first, to describe the religious system of Congregationalists, whether Baptist or Independent, and the forms of character and opinion which it has contributed to produce; and secondly, to explain the basis of reason on which Congregational Non-

conformity rests." The writers do not claim any authority to represent others, "but they think it probable that the opinions they have expressed are commonly held by Congregationalists, or at least are prevalent in the junior generation of them. And they have no doubt that they substantially agree amongst themselves."

Now we should be very sorry to attach to this work an undue importance. We do not think it is easy for six men^{of} culture and ability such as these manifestly are, to furnish us with a very accurate notion of the average Congregationalist. They frankly admit, and it is no reflection upon their system, that the general mass of the members of their churches are not cultured like themselves, and we feel certain that some of the opinions they express, and still more of the tendencies they betray, are not those of the multitudes of good people with whom they associate.

Mr. Fawcett begins with telling us that all forms of ecclesiastical polity are founded upon one of two different ideas as to the object and formation of "The Christian Church" (we start at so early a use of the definite article). The Church may be conceived of as affording a means of reconciliation between God and man, as endowed with the power of remitting sins, and as intrusted with the revelation of the Divine Will; or it may be looked upon simply as a congregation of believing men associated for mutual edification, and the observance of Divine ordinances. The former theory involves a hierarchy, the latter finds natural expression in a democratic polity. Romanism is the type of the one view, Congregationalism of the other. "The Congregational Church" is, according to the fundamental principle of the book, an association of persons of spiritual character united by voluntary consent for the accomplishment of spiritual objects. Its members before admission profess belief in Christ, and a desire to live according to His precepts. Membership, however, is no guarantee of salvation, or even non-membership a proof of perdition. The Church does not possess free legislative power, for its laws and ordinances are already prescribed. Scripture, not expediency, settles everything that need be settled. Old Nonconformists, indeed, regarded everything as forbidden which was not expressly authorised. The modern notion, on the contrary, is to base procedure upon some general principle derived from inspired authority. Generally speaking, primitive practice as recorded in Scripture is for ever binding on Christians. Accordingly no variety of circumstances necessitates or authorises any change in essential government or discipline. There are exceptions, however, to this stringent rule. It seems there were practices of the Primitive Church exclusively adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the Apostolic age. No Congregational church imposes community of goods, washing of feet, the kiss of charity, or the love feast; neither has a distinct order of evangelists or a plurality of pastors been deemed indispensable. Before any usage of the Primitive Church is adopted, inquiry has to be made whether the reasons for its institution still exist. If the primitive practice be adapted to the circumstances of our times, and seems fitted to contribute

to the general welfare of the Church, well and good; but if incongruous with our habits, or inconvenient or ridiculous, reject it as never having been intended to be permanent.

After all, the Congregationalist has recourse within these limits to the principle of confederacy, though he disavows it as a general criterion. Thus after his own manner, clearing his ground, Mr. Fawcett informs us that he does not profess to deal with the questions whether the congregation or any other form of government *has the sanction of Divine authority*.^{*} What he wants to show is, that it is expedient, as conducing to individual edification, and to the spread of religion; and every church is independent of every other—though by no means isolated from others—independent of authoritative control, but not independent of association. Every Congregationalist member is practically made free of all the societies of *the same denomination*. Churches make collections for each other, and form themselves into associations, meetings of which are held for *devotion and the transaction of business*. Then there is the Congregational Union. It may be difficult to see how conflict of doctrine and practice is prevented amongst a multitude of such independent communities. There are, apparently, but two formal means of checking the growth of heretical opinions and practices. (1) The association assumes the power of judging of the orthodoxy of reconstituted members; and (2) there is the system of chapel-trusts; but it is obvious that none of these means are to be relied upon. The first fails because a church can get on very well without the association; the second because, if the trustees and the congregation differed, the latter would migrate to another edifice. This latter crisis, however, seldom occurs, because the trustees seldom interfere, *except in cases of dispute between the ministers and their pastor*. It is very unusual for ministers to inquire whether their theological views are in strict accordance with the doctrines of the trust-deed. It follows that it is becoming common enough to omit from the deed any specification of doctrine, or to make the specification *as general and indefinite* as possible.

Notwithstanding all this, there is, as a matter of fact, a remarkable *uniformity of practice*, and an *absence of doctrinal differences*, both among the Baptists and Independents. The most obvious reason for this is, that the Congregationalist, rejecting all formal creeds (Mr. Fawcett, we suppose, has some vague idea that a creed may be informal), is *free from the natural reaction which follows the imposition of these restraints*. But a more complete explanation of the phenomenon is, that there are certain opinions and practices understood to be held by Congregational churches, and, since adhesion is voluntary, it must be sympathy with these opinions and practices which induces adhesion. In other words—and this mode of putting the case is not Mr. Fawcett's, but our own—there being no creeds—not even, we presume, as to the formal element of a creed, that of a great first Cause—Congre-

* Note the assumptions that Congregationalism only is the literal embodiment of a sound view of the Church, and that the congregation only depends on Scripture as the ultimate authority.

gationalists are free from all temptation to deny the existence of a Deity ; and further, that it being well understood that Congregational churches do hold certain fixed opinions, may attract adherents accordingly. Mr. Fawcett himself puts it that the Congregational members become such, *because he believes the doctrines generally understood to be held by Congregational churches to be true.*

But to proceed :—Mr. Fawcett thinks it quite possible that this absence of conflicting doctrines and practices is partly the result of widely different causes. The Congregationalist may neither sympathise very strongly with the doctrinal beliefs of his fellows, nor trouble himself at all with *moot points of theology*, but he has an hereditary attachment to the church, or respects and loves the pastor, and so acquiesces quietly in all that is said or sung. Indeed, most Congregationalists never heard anything else, and it is not surprising they should take everything for granted. No assent to “any formal creed” is required on admission, “*and the counsels of the pastor after that event are directed more towards his growth in grace than in theological knowledge.*” “Living the Christian life is deemed more important than discussing the moot points of Christian doctrine.” “Perhaps, therefore, the general unity of doctrine and practice” before adverted to, “may be, to some extent, more passive than active, and due rather to absence of theological discussion, than to intelligent preference for any particular order of faith or discipline.” So far as this is the case, we must look for an explanation of the alleged uniformity to the pastor, and not to the members. What, then, are the guarantees for his orthodoxy ? Just three. Generally speaking, he has had a professional training. He associates with his ministerial brethren. And thirdly, that system of trusts, which we have been told pages ago never or seldom works. “There are no other means outside the church,” adds Mr. Fawcett, “of excluding heretical teachers.”

“The early Independents made ordination a practical test of the soundness in doctrine of their ministers”—a test, we must notice in passing, very good so far as it goes, but by no means providing for the exclusion of heretical teachers. “They deemed that rite”—and Dr. Owen is the authority for the statement—to be “indispensably necessary, and to belong essentially unto the call to office.” “But at the present day the rite of ordination has become little more than a form.” It is not looked upon “even as a designation to the work of the ministry, but simply as an induction to the pastorate.” The candidate selects the persons who “perform” “the ceremony.” *These generally make no special inquiry into his antecedents, but perform “often as a matter of course.”* Indeed, ordination—and, with this account of it, we think very discreetly—“is not unfrequently dispensed with.” “Neither on church nor pastor is there any effective extrinsic restraint upon the most perfect freedom of thought and speech.” There must necessarily be some amount of common belief. But though a belief in the *essentials of Christianity* is expected from every member, considerable latitude of opinion is permitted. In like

manner, the views of the pastor, especially at his entrance upon office, must generally accord with those prevalent in the church. *But as the recognised exponent of doctrine*, he has incessant opportunities of influencing the beliefs of the members.

Passing over many other topics, we meet with a subject of deep interest which is not always put in a proper light. "In point of strict law, nothing can be more insecure than the position of the Congregational minister. He is at most only tenant-at-will to the trustees," and this tenancy may be determined without notice. "*Under the trust-deed*" he has the use of the pulpit so long only as he is pastor of the church. On the other hand, as is fair, the pastor may resign at his pleasure. In practice he stays as long as he is wanted. "Popular favour is fleeting," and he may be *driven* without formal dismissal. "The average length of Congregational pastorates is correctly set down at a very low figure." On the one hand, the Congregational, preëminently popular, politics give scope to disaffected and domineering members; on the other, ministers are naturally desirous to better themselves. Moreover, the pastoral relation is often hastily and unwisely formed. Of 1,305 Baptist pastors, a little more than a half only have held their position for five years and upwards, and a third only for ten years and upwards. But it must be remembered that frequent changes in the pastorate are not very detrimental to the spiritual interests of a church. Mr. Fawcett points to the Methodist system. But does not this dependence on his people interfere with the faithful discharge of his duty? Certainly not. Men do not go to chapel to be flattered, but to be edified. The religious teachers most in favour are those who are the stern upholders of the dogma of the natural depravity of the human race, the preachers of self-distrust, and the unflinching denouncers of evil. (We are grateful for this the first intimation of any dogma at all.) Of course dependence tends to increase zeal. The dissolution of the pastoral relation is easy. The pastor of a discontented church is generally glad to leave it. Express dismissals are rare. If the obnoxious pastor be obstinate, the church can always stop the supplies. Sometimes, however, he forms a party and defies all attempts to remove him. He may be suspected, but it is often difficult to prove guilt; members are reluctant to accuse, and by flattery and plausibility he retains his hold on the majority. The trustees are *generally* by the terms of the trust-deed bound by the decision of the majority; the minister keeps his place, and the minority secedes.

Then as to the general conduct of the affairs of the church. In strict Congregational theory, every safe question is submitted to the unbiassed decision of the whole body of members. The pastor can do nothing without the church. He is simply an assessor expounding (whether authoritatively or not, Mr. Fawcett does not say) the meaning of the laws which the members are to execute. "*In like manner*, the deacons are the servants of the church." Constant reference to the church would be liable to become cumbrous and wanting in promptitude and certainty. The system is, therefore, very generally modified. The

pastors and deacons compose "the cabinet council," and propose measures to the church, and give explanations and advice. A large discretionary power is thus placed in their hands in the management of "ordinary business." (What is extraordinary is not indicated.) Appeal is made to the members on questions only of special importance or interest, and the pastor and deacons assume the entire administration of matters of routine. The value of this system, however, is not "*the direct authority* thus conferred on this committee," but the opportunity of influencing decisions of importance. And it "seems to blend the steady and desperate action of an autocratic (?) government with the ready acquiescence and intelligence which result from a popular vote." (The idea is truly Napoleonic.)

Mr. Fawcett proceeds to expound a fourth fundamental characteristic of Congregationalism, namely, the equality as spiritual persons of all the members of the church. But he leaves us in great doubt whether this characteristic has his individual approval. He points out that the youngest member has an equal vote with the oldest and wisest. He cannot away with the ladies. "In many churches these inexperienced persons compose a large section of the members, and the result is sometimes shown in a proneness to precipitate authority, and a tendency to judge more by the feelings than by the reason." In the most spiritual matters, however, this principle is adopted. The pastor is not regarded as even possessing any "special faculty of interpretation." "Any lay member"—a lady we infer—"may perform the whole or any part of the pastor's duties." It does turn up, however, in the very next sentence, that some deference is due to the opinions of a man who has specially devoted himself to the study of the Word. Mr. Fawcett is only half satisfied with the theory of spiritual equality. "Though the consent of the pastor is usually obtained before a member begins to preach, this is not always deemed an indispensable preliminary." Indeed, the whole system of lay-preaching is loosely managed. "The tyro, instead of serving an apprenticeship in the vestry," (to whom?) "steps at once into the pulpit;" and so great mistakes are made. And, Mr. Fawcett again complains that "equality, though probably essential to perfect brotherhood, by no means necessarily implies it; a consideration which leads him" (we really do not see how) to regret that Congregationalism has no institution like that of the Methodist class-meeting. But that would not do; insincerity in very many cases is the result; what he really wants is "an arrangement for meetings of nine or ten members at a time for the purpose of freely and confidentially discussing the results of their individual Christian work, the hindrances they meet with, and the best means of keeping each other. Naturally religious or doctrinal difficulties occurring to anyone would come up for consideration," &c., &c. "At present Congregational church fellowship is too often in reality only fellowship with the pastor. Once admitted, the member is sometimes wholly neglected and forgotten by his fellows." ^a Co-working sometimes only means co-paying; all work

being thrown on the pastor. The idea of individual responsibility and effort, which is the very basis of the Congregational theory, is in danger of being supplanted by the notion that working them may be done by a paid deputy. After all, Congregationalism is better than any. And so Mr. Fawcett concludes.

Mr. T. M. Herbert, an excellent and able minister in the provinces, follows suit with an essay on the external relation of Congregationalism; and it is truly refreshing to listen to a man who believes in his system, and has nothing to say against the older Congregationalism, and the community, resolved opinions, and practices of the Churches to whom he belongs.

A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Galatians. By John Eadie, D.D., LL.D. T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh. 1869.

WE have only time to announce this elaborate Commentary, which is produced on the same principles as those on the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philippians, already announced in our pages. We have a complete introduction, in which every topic usually included is fully discussed; a thoroughly evangelical exposition on the Greek text (which is incorporated sentence by sentence); and a few well-written dissertations, after the most approved style of modern comment. We confess that, after Ellicott and Lightfoot, we find not much that is new or striking; and we certainly do not become more reconciled to the author's German habit of introducing every possible variety of opinion of every predecessor. Still, as a work of reference, to be consulted rather than read, Dr. Eadie's Galatians deserves a place on the exegetical shelves of every minister's library. This we say, after consulting it on many passages, and making ourselves pretty familiar with its general scope.

Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind. By James Mill. A New Edition, with Notes Illustrative and Critical. By Alexander Bain, Andrew Findlater, and George Grote. Edited, with Additional Notes, by John Stuart Mill. In Two Vols. London: Longmans and Co. 1869.

THE modern school of Mill and Bain is a derivation from Hartley and Hume, through James Mill. James Mill, the father, however, represents more properly the Hartley element in our modern sceptical metaphysics, while J. S. Mill, the son, represents the Hume element. The relation of James Mill to his celebrated son, not only as his father, but as also the father, to a large extent, of his philosophy, gives a special interest and an historical value to these volumes. How fondly his speculations are regarded by the whole school to which he belongs appears from the force of commentary and elucidation with

which they have gathered for the editing of this republication. The Mill philosophy hinges on sensation and association, and the earlier stages in its development are here fully exhibited. In the hands of the elder Mill the tendency of speculation was towards materialism, the autonomy and individuality of the mind as an intellectual unit faded away under the exhibition of sensations and associations originated and kept in play and interaction according to certain physical laws. The same tendency is modified in the philosophy of his son's school, according to which both matter and mind are dissolved in an idealistic nihilism, which has no individual centre, and which owns no identity. It is assumed that to analyse a phenomenon is to show its causation, that to take a machine to pieces is to solve all questions relating to its motive power. James Mill may, in some respects, be compared with Condillac, the foundation of whose philosophy was laid down in the maxim, "*penser c'est sentir*." The present publication cannot be neglected by any student of philosophy.

Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, with copious Notes. By Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D. Second Edition. London: Parker. 1868.

An Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel the Prophet. By William Harris Rule, D.D. London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday. 1869.

THE Book of Daniel—history and prophecy—must needs occupy a very prominent place in the apologetics of Christianity. The challenge it throws down before the infidel, whether Jew or Gentile, is of the most unqualified and absolute kind. It ends, so to speak, the Old Testament canon with the most wonderful wonders that the Bible recounts: with miracles that more than most others shock the sceptic. It gives prophecy a form of precision and calculable exactitude that it had never reached before. It condenses all the Messianic predictions into one clear and most express prophecy, or series of prophecies. And, finally, with all its stumbling-blocks to the pride of reason and prejudice, it is authenticated by the Founder of the Christian faith, in terms that are perfectly unambiguous and decisive.

It may safely, therefore, be assumed that the literature of the book of Daniel is not exhausted; and that it will yet be subjected, on the part both of friends and of foes, to a scrutiny more keen than has ever yet been spent upon it. We have already noticed Dr. Pusey's work, and expressed our sense of its importance as a contribution to the critical understanding of the prophet, and as a magnificent protest against the quasi-infidelity that begins to infest our biblical commentaries. This second edition contains a vigorous vindication of the lecturer against the strictures of Dr. Davidson and others. These lesser critics are fairly reduced to silence, and in a style of quiet severity scarcely surpassed by Dr. Newman himself. Take the following sentence, which

derives an additional value from the exaggerated submission of the times to Ewald's authority :—

“ Dr. Davidson, justly mistrusting the weight of his own name, has appealed to Ewald, to back up his allegation against my knowledge of Hebrew. I have ever respected Ewald's marvellous combination of talent, and that philosophical acuteness whereby, as he says, ‘ as a youth of nineteen,’ he laid the foundation of the scientific treatment of Hebrew grammar, which he has since continued. But then too, naturally, eagerness in the defence of a master whom he admired, Eichhorn, led him to take pleasure in contradicting Gesenius, while the veteran Gesenius treated with consideration and respect his able, eager, and youthful critic. But Ewald has, I have understood, had less influence than he otherwise would have had, even with his own countrymen, on account of the dictatorial tone which he assumes towards all who differ from him. He has, I am told, tolerated no contradiction, and, when asked how he came to make some assertion so positively, said that he knew it ‘ by the Holy Ghost,’ whatever he meant under that name. I have manifoldly contradicted him, and have, of course, fallen under his displeasure.”

But, after all, these elaborate personal defences, however important they may be in their place, scarcely belong to the exposition of a book like the prophecy of Daniel, and we cannot but regard it as a noble characteristic of Dr. Rule's volume, that it is composed in an atmosphere untroubled by these polemics. It is altogether of a different stamp from Dr. Pusey's book : being confined to one object, that of presenting a historical exposition of an historical prophecy. Dr. Rule brought to this work a thorough training for it ; and the result of his labours is a clear, tersely-written, unexaggerated statement of the authentication which profane history offers to sacred. The work is not the less valuable because it abstains from unsubstantial hypothesis, and finds it not impossible or improper to confess ignorance. There is not an unsupported statement to be found. The author must have laid himself under a restriction very creditable to his reverence ; and this fact strengthens his claim to our confidence.

If there is an exception anywhere to this rigid temperance, it is in the interpretation of the Messianic week, in which Dr. Rule's view is the one that innovates very much on that which is current, and which Dr. Pusey so very strikingly brings out. We cannot now enter upon the examination of the question, of course. It will be enough to give Dr. Rule's paragraph, and beg the reader to compare it with Dr. Pusey's. We think it will be found that the Hebrew text divides the holy week of years more solemnly than this hypothesis does ; that the term of our Lord's public manifestation cannot be made to harmonise with it ; and that, however pleasing Dr. Rule's theory is *primâ facie*, and however acceptable it would be if sustained, that interpretation is more consistent with the New Testament history of the establishment of the covenant with the world which makes the sacrifice of the Lord the middle of the holy week.

"This brings us to the close of the entire period, having by a mere comparison of dates and events, verified the divine prediction. Here is the summary :

7 weeks = 49 years, for completing the restoration of Jerusalem.
 62 weeks = 434 years, until the baptism of the Lord Jesus.
 1 week = 7 years, from the baptism to the resurrection.

490 years from Artaxerxes' decree to the resurrection of Christ, cut off but not for Himself.

"The confirmation of the covenant for a week—last week of all—obviously refers to the extraordinary ministrations of teaching and miracle during *that momentous term*.

"... Here we turn to the original text, the only ground whereon to rest a calculation, and find it confessedly difficult. My own perplexity is much diminished on perceiving, as I think, the force of just two sentences. (Heb.) 'And He shall strengthen the covenant with the many one week : and half the week He shall make sacrifice and oblation to cease.' From the time of our Lord's baptism (A.D. 26 or 27), to that of His crucifixion (A.D. 33), six years or more elapsed, if not fully seven. Ample time is left for a half week, or three years and a half, to be employed in active ministration. According to St. John, our Lord was present in Jerusalem at *four* passovers (?); the last of them being distinguished by the solemnities of that most memorable paschal supper, from which He went out to the Mount of Olives, to His agony in Gethsemane, and to the cross. Between the four passovers was a clear space of three years; and there might well be half a year, at least, allowed for the time of His public appearance at the baptism, fasting, temptation in the wilderness, and probable retreat after His return thence, for gradual separation from the familiar society of Nazareth. Add again fifty days that followed between the resurrection and the feast of Pentecost, and then remember that the precursory ministration of the Baptist lasted a considerable time during the former part of the Septennium."

We earnestly hope that this volume will be valued by theological students, and read *through* as it ought; not merely examined here and there, but studied from end to end, with the pages of the prophet lying open before the reader.

The History of Israel. By Heinrich Ewald. Translated from the German. Edited with a Preface and Appendix, by Russell Martineau, M.A. Vol. II., Joshua and the Judges. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1868.

WE need add nothing to the remarks made upon the former part of this remarkable production; the strangest composite of learning, dogmatism, superciliousness, and reverence, that even Germany has furnished. This volume is profoundly interesting, as treating a distinct portion of the history of Israel, and that the most romantic and interesting. Reading from the commencement we are soon arrested by such a

passage as the following, which fairly represents the diversified characteristics of the historian :—

"This fruitfulest, but hardest of conquest, of all the lands in those parts, was thus to become the possession of the youngest Hebraic people. Worthy was it to be dearly won, the hard-earned prize of forty years' wanderings, toil, and struggle. That on this goal the gaze of Moses was ever riveted, has been sufficiently proved in the foregoing pages. Yet here also he shows himself a great and true prophet, in that he abstains strictly from offensive warfare, and fights only when attacked. And as if an overruling Providence saw fit to spare him, even at the last, what he had ever shrunk from, he dies upon the frontier shore of the Jordan ; and some tracts on the other side were actually conquered by the younger generation, while their aged prophet was passing to his rest. But now, in full sight of their last earthly goal, it was impossible, after the last outbreak, any longer to restrain the people, impatient at last to conquer and possess. Now, therefore, Joshua—not a prophet, but a mere warrior—stands at their head. The fire of conquest, kindled beyond the Jordan by hostile attacks in the last days of Moses, now spreads across the river ; and Jahveh becomes, even more than then, the God of Battles. Yet, amid the ever-darkening picture of the increasing savagery of an age of war, there still shines many a ray of the spiritual grandeur called into existence by Moses ; and thus, even after the most searching scrutiny, the age of Joshua must ever appear to us a bright afterglow from the setting sun of the Mosaic age. Islâm, in like manner, had no sooner taken firm root and understood its position in the world, than it rushed into irresistible force of arms beyond its first bounds. A certain similarity there undeniably is between Jahveism and Islâm, in the fresh heroic zeal with which both inspired their early adherents. Of what a nation is capable, when it first feels perfect satisfaction in a new and sublime idea, when old grievances and dissensions and the petty aims of common life disappear before an all-elevating yet all-equalising truth, when one powerful will inspires all to strive after the same lofty aim, is seen in both these Semitic nations, at the moment when the first glory of a higher religion dawned upon either. And again, as in Islâm the mighty outward impulse first awoke during the latter days of Mohammed, after his religion had triumphed in its home-circle, and was rather unloosed than impeded by his death ; so Jahveism only girded itself for foreign conquest at the very end of Moses' life, and then, so far from being deterred by his death, pressed forward the more eagerly to its next earthly aim, strengthened and confirmed by its forty years' ordeal." Mr. Martineau's essay on *Jahveh* is learned and satisfactory.

History of the Reformation in Europe in the Time of Calvin.

By J. H. M. D'Aubigné, D.D. Vol. V. England, Geneva, Ferrara. Longmans. 1869.

D'AUBIGNÉ's first series of volumes on the Reformation, five in number, embraced the history from the beginning of the Reformation to the

Confession of Augsburg in 1530. His second series is intended to complete the great history throughout all parts of the field in which the new life was working revolution in men's religious views and feelings; the scope is vast, the ambition of the historian is grand in its daring. The present volume is the fifth of the second series, the tenth from the beginning, and embraces a full and busy period of only two years from 1534 to 1536.

Within this period, in England, fall the condemnation of King Henry by the Pope, Henry's revolt from the Papacy, the legal murders of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, the visitation of the monasteries, the royal plot against Anne Boleyn, with her execution, Henry's dogmatic decrees and his persecution of the Protestants, the pro-Papal insurrection in the North, and the martyrdom of Tyndale, England's true and noble reformer. In Switzerland and Italy, within this period, are included the resolute and fiery course of Farel, the keen pioneer of the Reformation at Geneva, the religious war between the forces of the Duke of Savoy, backed by Charles V., and Geneva aided by a part of Switzerland, the call of Calvin from Ferrara to Geneva, and his final settlement there, after victory had definitively declared itself on the side of the reformers in Switzerland.

Never has the historian had a finer field on which to employ his vast research and his picturesque powers than in this volume, and never, we think, has he done his work better. It is a most animated, moving, instructive story. We need hardly say, that a very different view is given from that which Mr. Blunt sets forth in his partisan and narrowly-biased history of the Reformation in England. The Swiss historian does justice to the pure and excellent Tyndale, and furnishes a fair view of the various and conflicting parties in the nation. He holds to the judgment respecting Anne Boleyn, which had generally prevailed till of late. He agrees with Hallam, and not with Froude, and maintains the innocence of the Queen. On Swiss ground, we need hardly say, Dr. Aubigné finds himself very much at home indeed. Geneva is his own home, and he tells the story of her Reformation as a labour of love.

A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D.D., in connection with a Number of Eminent European Divines. The Two Epistles to the Corinthians. By Christian Friedrich Kling, D.D. Translated by Dr. Poer and Dr. Wing. Vol. VI. of the New Testament. T. and T. Clark. Edinburgh. 1869.

THIS is one of the most remarkable among many remarkable exegetical works that the English public owe to the indefatigable efforts of Messrs. Clark. Dr. Kling was one of the princes of evangelical exposition, uniting in himself qualities the combination of which is more

and more rarely found—ponderous and universal learning with reverent simplicity of faith. He was a son of Pietist Württemberg, the land of Bengel and of Bengel's school of expositors. His articles in the great Theological Cyclopædia of Lutheran Germany—rather monographs than articles—are enough to establish the fame of any theologian. The last and best years of his life were dedicated to the composition, or rather arrangement into final order, of the immense commentary on the Corinthians.

As the book enters into the *Bible-work* of Lange, it has undergone considerable modification. Dr. Schaff says: "He laid himself out mainly in the exegetical and doctrinal sections, while the homiletical hints are mainly gathered from older sources. This commentary was well received for its solid learning and Christian spirit; but the style is somewhat heavy and diffuse. Hence I allowed the translators full liberty to reproduce it freely in justice to the English idiom as well as to the thoughts of the original. It is no disparagement of the author to say that the American translators have greatly improved his work by condensation and valuable additions and adaptation to the English reader. Every page gives proof of their scholarly labour. The German edition contains 417 pages, the English 596 pages, and a good deal of the new matter is in very small type." Here, for our own part, we find matter of complaint. The plan of the work was too cumbrous at the outset: the distinction of critical, theological, and practical departments of exegesis is, on the whole, mechanical and unsatisfactory, resulting in the production of a work which may be consulted, indeed, to advantage, but never read consecutively with the pleasure that a good exposition should inspire. Here, however, we have another element of embarrassment; the commentator becomes the text of new comment, and this, as Dr. Schaff says, to the extent of almost a quarter of the volume, and "in very small type." We have Dr. Poor and Dr. Wing upon Dr. Kling; and, besides this, the doctor's text is made into a mosaic work of opinions embedded into it from almost every commentator known to fame.

Our objection goes on the assumption that a good comment should be a book that a reader may take up and read with profit and joy from chapter to chapter. There is a kind of commentary that is only to be consulted; and, placing this volume in that class, it deserves a very high place. The Epistles to the Corinthians are not an untraversed region; but they are not ground that has been gleaned as well as reaped; and they will always have a special interest as giving a special and quite peculiar glimpse into the internal economy of the Early Church, and presenting to the reader doctrines and aspects of doctrine unknown to the other writings of the New Testament. We can only add that we have consulted it on many passages with great advantage; and recommend our young ministers to add it to their exegetical library. But they must remember (what, indeed, the translators will take care generally to tell them) that Dr. Kling was a high Lutheran in his views of the Eucharist and the physical effects of redemption.

The Life, Labours, and Writings of Cæsar Malan, Minister of the Gospel in the Church of Geneva, D.D., and Pastor of L'Eglise du Témoignage. By one of his Sons. London: Nisbet and Co. 1869.

THE history of Cæsar Malan, whose name was thirty years ago very widely known in this country, much more widely than it is now known, is well worthy of study. More than fifty years ago Malan was led, in part through German and Lutheran influences, to abandon the Christianised Deism which had long prevailed in Geneva. In 1816-7, he was brought into contact with the brothers Haldane, and from them he learnt the Calvinistic doctrine of assurance, together with the other principles of strongly pronounced Calvinism. On his beginning to preach the Calvinistic doctrine, although he did but preach Calvinism once again in the city of Calvin, he was silenced by the consistory (this was in 1818), and, on his continuing to preach in private rooms and houses, and afterwards in a chapel built on his own land, he was eventually, although illegally, deposed from all ecclesiastical functions and capacity. He was not a separatist; to the end he retained his theoretic approval of the principle of a State Church; but he was driven to become a purely voluntary and an independent pastor. He made a number of visits to England and Scotland, and visited France repeatedly on preaching tours. In 1825 he was made an associate pastor of the Scottish Secession Church. The University of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1826. His intimacies were with the Haldane connexion, in the first instance, but also with Lord Roden, the Rev. T. Fry, and others belonging to the Calvinistic section of the Church of England. His church at Geneva was not large, but his influence was great, especially with devout foreigners, English, Russian, and German, who resorted to Geneva. His views retained throughout the tinge and bias they had received from the Haldanes. He was perhaps the only continental divine of eminence who has held the strictest views of Scotch Sabbatarianism. He excelled as a hymn-writer. Many of his hymns have passed into all the collections of modern evangelical psalmody in the French language. We may note, in passing, that the favourite hymn, beginning "Du Rocher de Jacob," was from his pen. In his last days he found that Darbyism, the Continental Plymouthism, largely trenched on his own ground. Being in fact a man of extreme opinions, and being isolated from all church organisations, he was peculiarly open to the inroads of those unattached Calvinists whose motto might seem to be, "Every man his own pope." His son speaks of "finding him sometimes smarting too sensibly perhaps under a sense of his isolated position in Geneva. Not that his intercourse with his brethren of the evangelical party was ever devoid of mutual respect, or that he was not asked from time to time to speak in their places of worship, but only on exceptional and very rare occasions. . . . He heard men whose efforts had long ago been anticipated by himself . .

boast publicly, amid the applause of their friends, that they had been the first to wave in Geneva the banner of orthodoxy. He not only found himself withdrawn from the efforts of his youth, but he saw others enter into his labour, and parade it as theirs under his very eyes, while they impressed upon it a character totally alien to his sympathies. He received from official sources copies of such of his own works as had appeared anonymously, which were sent to him as models to follow, and as a criticism on those which he had issued with his name attached. At the gatherings, to which his brotherly spirit was for ever taking him, he heard his own hymns sung to strange and often ill-chosen airs, altered, too, occasionally by unskilful hands." Malan's religious societies and congregations in Geneva received the designation of "Methodist," and *Methodism* became the recognised denomination of the movement which he led. He accepted the word in a pamphlet which he published with the title "*Le Procès du Méthodisme*." He was a godly and devoted man, and exercised a wide influence over religious inquirers of the higher ranks in different nations. The pious Queen of Holland was one of his admirers and disciples. He was born in 1787, and died on May 8, 1864. Vinet, Charles Cook, the English Methodist, and Malan, were three of the foremost men in the religious revival which has re-animated French and Swiss Protestantism during the last fifty years. But Malan's severe and extreme Calvinism greatly limited his influence to usefulness.

Sermons Preached in the King's Weigh House Chapel, London, 1829—1869. By T. Binney. London: Macmillan and Co. 1869.

As this volume is published by Macmillan and Co., it will not fail to find its way into quarters in which a volume of Nonconformist sermons has scarcely penetrated before. Those who have been accustomed to hear or to read High Church sermons, of the Denison standard, in which ten minutes are occupied in talking to parishioners who are supposed to be docile, and of infantile simplicity, not to say capacity, in their reception of what their priest sets forth as doctrine or duty, will find the reading of Mr. Binney's discourses, should they undertake such a task, to be for them a mighty process of education. We presume that these sermons, though written by a Nonconformist, will, with the passport of the publishers' name, find a ready place in the libraries and lists of Mudie and of Smith. We are glad of it. It is well that the real thinkers about theology in the Church of England should have something more evangelical than the sermons of Mr. Row-sell or even of Mr. Davies, and more strongly intellectual than the excellent and charming expositions of Dr. Vaughan, on which to exercise their devout contemplations. Mr. Binney's discourses on divine things are full of robust intelligence, of reverent but independent thinking on the most profound and holy themes, and of earnest, practical, purpose. The expositions are, for the most part, admirably straight,

deep and true; the style is always vigorous, and often eloquent; the matter is most suggestive. Nothing can be more characteristically Protestant, without narrowness, or bigotry, or a word of anti-Popish controversy, than these sermons. The word and the Spirit, the Holy Scriptures and personal faith, obedience, and contemplation, always with the Scriptures as the revealing medium, through which the mind and will of God shine; these are the powers, the forces, the *momenta*, which inspire, fill, and form, Mr. Binney's mind and personality as a preacher. The longest sermon in the book is entitled, "Salvation by Fire, and Salvation by Fulness," and, to our apprehension, it is the noblest of them all.

Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount. Drawn from the Writings of St. Augustine. With Observations, and an Introductory Essay on his Merits as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture. By R. Chenevix Trench, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin. London: Macmillan and Co., 1869.

IN the partly Gallicised, partly Latinised style, which Dr. Trench chooses to adopt, very much to the marring of his, in many respects, excellent English writing, he informs us in his preface that this volume is not by any means a translation of Augustine's comparatively slight *Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount*, but that it is an attempt to draw from the whole circle of his writings "what of most important," "what of best," he has contributed for the elucidation or the practical enforcement of this part of Scripture, and thus to give the reader both the benefit of Augustine's best and truest thoughts, and at the same time a just "idea of him as a practical interpreter of Scripture." In carrying out his purpose, Dr. Trench has criticised many of Augustine's ideas and expositions. Very nearly one half of the volume, indeed, is occupied by an "Essay on Augustine as an Interpreter of Scripture," as preliminary to the view which is given of his manner of expounding the Sermon on the Mount. The preliminary essay will be regarded by many as the more valuable part of the volume. Dr. Trench's own theology may be described generally as evangelically Arminian, the one drawback to its evangelical character being the Archbishop's well-known views, as a High Churchman, as to baptismal regeneration. All students of theology may derive much benefit from the volume; Methodists will, in general, sympathise strongly with its doctrinal strain and tendency. The present is the third edition. It was originally published in 1844, and a second edition in 1851, and it has for several years been out of print.

Devotional Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Matthew. Translated from the French of Quesnel. Rivingtons. 1869.

GENERALLY speaking, we can give but a very qualified approval to the adaptations which make Romanist works suitable for purposes of Pro-

testant edification. If an exception were allowable, it would be in the case of Quesnel's "Reflections," a book which has a more striking history than any other of the same class. But the rule admits of no exception, not even that of Thomas à Kempis. Justice to the Romanist, and justice to the Protestant, alike demand that such books should be read as their authors left them, or declined altogether. The reader who could derive profit from the devout reflections presented in this volume would be prepared for the diluted Romanism which occurs in a few passages that have been removed. Moreover, it is exceedingly useful, as we have found it, to note well the kind of Romanism that devout Port Royalists and Jansenists can reconcile with the spirituality and evangelical unction of their godliness. But what weighs most of all with us is, the fact that it is utterly impossible to find a Romanist commentary that does not, in many passages that defy correction, betray the Protestant reader's confidence.

The last edition of Quesnel's "Reflections," published with his own final notes, is a very valuable addition to any library. The book was immensely popular during some forty years that the successive volumes were in course of publication. It had the honour of being condemned by the Papal bull *Unigenitus* in 1714; one hundred and one propositions having been extracted and specifically condemned as dangerous and heretical. We recommend the original to every student who has, or desires to form, a really Catholic library. But we cannot cordially recommend a Protestant abridgment.

The Whole Works (as yet recovered) of the Most Reverend Father in God, Robert Leighton, D.D., &c., &c., to which is prefixed the Life of the Author, and of his Father. By William West, B.A. Vol. II. Sermons and Charges. London: Longman and Co.

THE first thought on opening this volume is that here we have Leighton in type and printing worthy of him. But we find that this is not the only advantage of this edition. Some of these sermons have not before been printed, whilst the others are now printed for the first time in a correct form. The Life has yet to come, as also the immortal writings which endear Leighton to all classes of Christians, who love and reverence his words as the words of a natural father, while they acknowledge in them an unction and a power found in only a few. It is pleasant to find a page or two of generous appreciation of his merits at the outset, however needless they may be. "Leighton lives on his works, and they accordingly breathe the spirit of his life, which was, indeed, what Plotinus calls *A flight of the alone to the Alone*. But what it was may be best expressed in the words of a striking passage in his 'Rule for Spiritual Exercises;' for he followed his own rules, and lived as he taught. Bishop Jebb bears witness: 'These writings are often tinged with the Calvinism of the day; but, after making every needful abatement, we must confess that Leighton was a human

seraph, uniting the solar warmth with the solar light, *unde ardet unde lucet*; and throughout exhibiting the purest, most unmingled goodness.⁷⁰ His Commentary on St. Peter is a treasure of devotion; his theological lectures are the very philosophy of the New Testament; and his meditations on some of the Psalms raise us to those purer and sublimer heights where it was Leighton's delight and privilege habitually to dwell." We make no doubt this edition will be extensively circulated.

Spiritual Life. By John James, D.D., Canon of Peterborough. Rivingtons. 1869.

THIS book is not fairly represented by its title. It is no other than a thorough and exhaustive view of the Spirit's work as exhibited progressively and in Divine development throughout the Scriptures. It contains thirty-six chapters of brief, earnest, evangelical dissertation on the influences of the Holy Ghost. The reader's attention is never distracted from the subject, his mind is never burdened or wearied with thought, and he is never permitted to forget the practical object of every revelation. The venerable author now rests from his labours.

Thoughts on Preaching, Specially in Relation to the Requirements of the Age. By Daniel Moore, M.A. Second Edition. London: Hatchards. 1869.

MR. MOORE is one of the best preachers of the time, and may claim to be heard on an art in which he excels. Every branch of homiletics is treated in this volume, which, for the present at least, we recommend as by far the best English work on the subject with which we are acquainted. It is wisely offered, also, as a cheap volume, though clearly and beautifully printed.

The Tragedies of Æschylus: A New Translation, with a Biographical Essay, and an Appendix of Rhymed Choral Odes. By E. H. Plumptre, M.A. Two Vols. Strahan and Co. 1869.

By confession of all, Professor Plumptre has produced an admirable, an available, an enjoyable as well as a faithful, version of the extant dramas of Sophocles. With no less mastery he has now completed a version of the older and more grandiose tragedian. We have said *grandiose*: let us hasten to add that Æschylus is not only sometimes, perhaps often, grandiose, but that he is often truly grand. There are portions of the *Prometheus Vincetus*, of the *Agamemnon*, and even of the sometimes bombastic *Seven against Thebes*, which for real grandeur, at least of painting, can scarcely be rivalled by any passages of Sophocles.

Professor Plumptre appears to have every quality and all the culture requisite for the consummate translator, and has achieved triumphs of translation in very various departments of ancient learning such as no

other man has been able to show. His renderings of Hebrew lyrics, such, for instance, as the *Song of Deborah*, are unequalled, and these translations from the Greek poets, while, for close fidelity, they are all that could be expected from a very accomplished classical scholar, for finished ease of expression and versification, for admirable quality as English dramatic verse, leave nothing to be desired.

The introductory essay on the life of the poet, and on the theology and the ethics which underlie his compositions, is very interesting and instructive.

Lives of Indian Officers. By John William Kaye. Strahan and Co. 1869.

MUCH of the material of the lives embraced, or to be embraced, within the two volumes of which we have before us the first, was originally published by Mr. Kaye as sketches in a popular serial. These sketches, several of which were but abridgments or selections from much larger matter in manuscript, are here greatly enlarged, and indeed almost rewritten.

The present volume contains the biographies of Lord Cornwallis, Sir John Malcolm, and Mountstuart Elphinstone. The special advantages enjoyed by Mr. Kaye in his intimate friendship with all the best known men of both the civil and the military service in India during the last thirty years, including Elphinstone in particular, in the private papers of his heroes having been placed at his disposal, in his official familiarity with Indian affairs, and in his practised literary ability, have combined to fit him for the work he has undertaken. The present volume is full of excellent writing and most interesting matter; and the next, which is to contain the lives of Martyn, Metcalf, Conolly, Lawrence, and Nicholson, of Neill, Barnes, and Pottinger, will not be inferior in interest or value. We suspect, indeed, that there must be a third volume as well as a second, to do justice to all these eminent names. The collection will in truth be, as Mr. Kaye says, a biographical history of India from the days of Cornwallis to the days of Canning. We hail this first volume with unmingled satisfaction.

Advanced Text-Books for Members of the Church of England.

If any wish to know to what lengths clergymen may go, and do go, who yet remain in the Church of England as by law established, let them examine the Rev. Orby Shipley's reprint, published by the house of Longman and Co., of Anthony Stafford's *Life of the Blessed Virgin*. Stafford was a Laudian English Papist, who published, more than 230 years ago, a puerile and superstitious *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, under the title of *The Female Glory*. This life, of course, ends with the *Assumption*. It does not, however, begin with the Immaculate Conception. It is reserved for Mr. Orby Shipley's friend, whose anonymous essay on the *Cultus of the Blessed Virgin Mary* is included

in this volume as an introduction to Stafford's wretched production, to go to the Ultramontane length of defending this most lately promulgated article of Papal faith and doctrine. After what has now at length been published, however, from the pen of Keble in the direction of Mariolatry, one is unable to feel surprise at any outrageousness of Romanising development in the Church of England, and yet Mr. Shipley's *Invocation of Saints and Angels*, which has come into our hand since we wrote the foregoing paragraph, is, if possible, yet more monstrous and pestilent in its Romanism than the *Female Glory*. We presume Mr. Shipley does not lose by his publications, or he would hardly continue to issue them. But if he does not, it follows that there must be a considerable demand for the rubbish which he edits and issues. The present volume is elegantly got up. It is "compiled from Greek, English, and Latin sources, for the use of members of the Church of England." It contains *Conferences on the Method and Practice of Honouring the Saints*, *Litanies* in invocation of angels, the "Blessed Virgin," apostles, evangelists, and saints in general, *Devotions*, i.e., prayers to God for the help or through the mediation of the Saints, and *Hymns*. The preface contains some instructive passages. We quote sentences worthy of attention. "The descent and early training of those who originated the Tractarian revival; the doctrine of reserve which they both taught and acted on to so wide an extent; and the almost individual absorption of the personal leaders of the Church party into the Roman Communion, when they had grasped but a comparatively small proportion of the circle of truths which we are now thankful to accept in greater entirety—these causes but imperfectly account for the neglect with which this article of the creed has been treated by Christian families." "Whether or not a more full and frank avowal of higher principles and deeper truths, together with the adoption of a more worthy ceremonial to enshrine and announce them, might have still kept in our Communion those many whose places have not been and cannot be filled, it is difficult to say. But the fact remains uncontradicted. The doctrine of Reserve was adopted. Ritual development was not encouraged. And well nigh to a man the flower of the Catholic party was transplanted to a soil which, if it afforded not all that was anticipated, yet provided much that was before denied." Mr. Shipley's plan, it is plain, is to go the whole length of Ultramontane Popish superstition, and yet remain *within* the Church of England. As might have been expected, Mr. Shipley quotes, with manifest triumph and delight, and almost in full, Keble's ill-omened poem in laud of the "Mother of God." It is now certain that Keble, much more than Newman, has been the actual leader and inspirer of that party which is at present driving along in such mournful and disgraceful excesses of Romanist superstition.

From the *Devotions* we give just two small samples of the quality of this idolatrous and disgraceful book: "Send us, O merciful God, Michael, the prince of the heavenly armies, to deliver us from the hand of our enemies, and present us unhurt to Thee, O Lord our God. May we

always have him to aid us whom we acknowledge to have been so highly exalted by Thy gift; that resisting our vices, through his intercession, we may abound in virtues," &c.

"O, Michael, prince of the angelic hosts, come, we pray thee, and free the souls of thy faithful people, that in attaining to uprightness," &c.

To such a pass it has come with a large and growing party among the clergy of that Church which had been deemed by very many the great bulwark in this realm of the great Protestant religion.

RIVINGTONS publish a monastic exemplar in the *Life of Madame Louise de France*. She was a slightly deformed daughter of Louis XV., known in her convent as the Mother T  r  se de St. Augustin. The life is prepared for the press by "the author of *Tales of Kirkbeck*," who has condensed it from a diffuse memoir of the princess-nun, written by a Carmelite sister. "At the present time," says the author of this volume, "when the spirit of religious self-devotion is so greatly reviving in the Church of England, it is thought that many even of those living in the world might be interested in following a princess, &c., &c." So this is another sample of the spawn of Popery with which the Anglicanism of this land is surcharged. We cannot promise the rational reader much instruction or interest in this production. It is the poor, insipid commonplace of conventual sanctity.

Soi m  me, however, or, *The Story of a Wilful Life*, issued by the same publishers, is a true, clever, wholesome, although a painful portraiture. If the young and wilful could be brought to read it, it might do them real and lasting good.

Thoughts about Class Meetings: a Series of Letters to an Inquirer from a Methodist Pastor. By the Rev. F. W. Briggs. London: Hamilton and Co. 1869.

THIS is a most thoughtful and valuable little volume. We know of no book on the subject so good for a Methodist minister's use as this. It is not a synthetic exposition of the nature of the Methodist institution to which it refers, nor is it a regular argument to prove its merits; but it is full of analysis and suggestion. It is particularly suitable to put into the hands of intelligent and candid inquirers, who desire to understand what really belongs to the question of fellowship with a Christian Church.

The History of Balaam. In Five Discourses. By Rev. W. Roberts. London: Elliot Stock.

FIRMLY embedded in the Old Testament Scriptures lies the history of Balaam, the son of Beor; its special teachings often overshadowed by the grotesque incident which the name always recalls. It was a worthy purpose of a scribe, evidently instructed unto the kingdom of heaven, to

bring forth out of the treasury this old history, and by care and much painstaking, to set forth its hidden lessons.

In these five thoughtful, practical sermons, the character, the way, the prophecies, the counsel, and the fate of Balaam are judiciously delineated; and the history, which is truly both "a problem and a study," is made to yield rich instruction for ordinary men of all time. The writer has passed under careful analysis those incidents which, if not a "perfect repertory of temptation," do form an instructive example of the way in which "evil influences contend with conscience," and of the persistency and earnestness "with which God strives with the evil-doer." In suggestive rather than exhaustive sentences, the preacher deals with these central topics and with a number lying around and more or less related to them.

The book may be read with advantage by the prophet, "the true soothsayer, the *truthsayer*" of to-day, the honours and perils of whose office are here set forth.

Rome : from the Fall of the Western Empire. By the Rev. George Trevor, M.A., Canon of York. London : Religious Tract Society.

THIS is a very valuable summary of the history of Rome Papal. Occasionally illustrations are introduced from the book of Revelation, as interpreted according to Mr. Elliott's scheme, which, in a digest of history, might, we think, with advantage have been wanting; and just now and then, a certain politico-ecclesiastical flavour is thrown in. But these blemishes, if we call them so, are only slight, and occur but seldom. The volume on the whole has our warm commendation. Canon Trevor justly says, "the treatment is historical rather than polemical"; and that Mr. Trevor has, on the whole, well adhered to this principle is his merit. The volume is intelligent, authentic, and Protestant, and supplies a desideratum.

George Burley : His History, Experiences, and Observations. By G. E. Sargent, &c., &c. London : Religious Tract Society.

WE know not what benefit can arise from our excellent Tract Society setting up a manufactory of glib stories, which are neither good as fictions, nor wise and serviceable in a Christian sense. This book is not natural—a boy of six talks like a man, and afterwards, as a man, remembers and relates all that was said, by all sorts and conditions of men, in exact and appropriate phraseology, when he, the hearer, was but so young a lad. Nor is it noble, nor in any sense a prize for a family to read. It tries hard to be *goody*, but is really meritorious in no respect whatever.

THE Rev. J. G. Wood still continues to issue his beautiful and very interesting serial, *Bible Animals*, of which the woodcuts and the letter-

press descriptions are both of the first class. The last three parts (XVI. and XVII.) contain accounts of the stork, the swan, the cormorant, the pelican, with which the procession of birds comes to an end; of the tortoise, the Egyptian dhubb or tzat (a sort of lizard), the crocodile, the Palestinian lizards in general, the chameleon, the monitor, serpents in general, the viper, the frog; and begins the department of fishes. The frontispiece to Part XVIII., which shows a herd of horses coming down to where the crocodile is in waiting, and the manner in which the leviathan handles a horse, is very capital. Messrs. Longman and Co. are the publishers of this attractive serial.

A Complete and Popular Digest of the Polity of Methodism : each Subject Alphabetically Arranged. By the Rev. Joseph Henry Skewes. Elliot Stock. 1869.

THIS cheap and comprehensive little volume will, we believe, be very extensively used, especially in our country districts. So much the more important it is that its errors should be corrected. We have no doubt that the compiler, who is a good labourer at his work and has a pure intention, has noted many a stricture that the Connexional authorities and private friends have sent him, especially with reference to the first three or four pages. Corrections here and there are all that is wanting to make the little book as useful as it is convenient in form.

Central Truths. By the Rev. Charles Stanford, Author of "Symbols of Christ," &c. Third Thousand. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1869.

WE need not do more than register the title of this pleasing and edifying volume, the general appreciation of which is indicated by its steady popularity.

The Trees of Old England. Sketches of the Aspects, Associations, and Uses of those which constitute the Forests, and give effect to the Scenery of our Native Country. By LEO H. GRINDON. Pitman, Paternoster-row. 1868.

Echoes in Plant and Flower Life. By LEO H. GRINDON. Pitman, Paternoster-row. 1869.

Two deeply interesting little volumes, rather Oriental and redundant in phrase here and there, but always healthy and pure

A History of the Early Church. A Manual. By the Rev. John Pryce, Vicar of Bangor. Longmans. 1869.

A CLEARLY written little book, marred, however, by excessive devotion to antiquity.

Sibyl of Cornwall: A Poetical Tale. The Land's End, St. Michael's Mount, and other Poems. By Nicholas Michell. London: Chapman and Hall. 1869.

MR. MICHELL has established his reputation not merely as a local poet, entitled to distinction among the men of his country, but as possessed of very superior powers of word-painting in verse. The present volume adds many examples of his gifts in this respect.

The King's Daughters; or, Words on Work to Educated Women. By Annie Harwood. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1869.

SOME spirited, but guarded and temperate pleading on behalf of as thorough an education for women as may be available, followed by some practical suggestions as to how their attainments should be employed in various branches of Christian usefulness, may be found in this well-written little book. With the substance of a chapter on "Sisterhoods contrasted with individual effort," we cordially agree.

Constance Aylmer, a Story of the Seventeenth Century. By H. F. P. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

THIS is one of the best of not a few good stories which have been published of late by *Hodder and Stoughton*. It is really a brilliant little book, and whoever H. F. P. may be, she need not be afraid to give her name. The scene is laid partly in New Amsterdam (now New York) and its neighbourhood, and partly in London, in the sixteenth century, and in the days of Cromwell. Dutchmen of New Amsterdam, Quakers, pirates, Cavaliers, Puritans, and Indians, appear on the stage, in distinct portraiture, and in vivid colours. The temper of the tale is just and good, except that the estimate of Cromwell's character is too indiscriminately favourable. We are bound also to add that the Indians are ideal rather than real personages. The actual American Indian has always been a cowardly cruel savage.

END OF VOL. XXXII.



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INDEX

TO

VOLUME XXXII.

- Abyssinian Expedition, 393; the captives, 394; Stern, 395; the rope torture, 397; Mr. Rassam, 399; Theodore and Consul Cameron, 400; mission to Theodore, 403; the 'Abyssinian difficulty,' 403; Arabs, 405; Dr. Beke, 406; injudicious philanthropy, 407; Magdala, 409; scenery of passes, 411; the Shohos, 411; land transport, 413; Prince Kassai, 415; Theodore's madness, 415; blue jackets, 417; liberation, 421; death of Theodore, 423.
- Adler's 'Sermons,' 475; their object, 475.
- Advanced Text-Books for Members of Church of England, 523.
- Alford's 'New Testament,' 489; revised version, 489.
- Alford's 'Greek Testament,' 257.
- Alps, guide to, 261.
- 'Analysis of Mind,' Mill's, 511.
- 'Apostles and False Apostles,' Bleby's, 260.
- Arnot's 'Essays on Criticism,' 257.
- 'Atonement,' Oxenham's 'Catholic Doctrine of,' 494.
- Bampton Lectures on Holy Spirit, 160; gradual development of doctrine on Spirit, 160; the 'Spirit-bearing church,' 163; transmission, 164; 'tongues of fire' expounded, 165; apostolical succession, 167; sacraments, 168; eucharist and unity, 170; conversion, 171; the personal priesthood, 170; the laity, 172; Dissent and Church, 175; Methodism, 176.
- Bastow's 'Bible Dictionary,' 260.
- Blanc's 'Narrative of Captivity in Abyssinia,' 252.
- Bleby's 'Apostles and False Apostles,' 260.
- Blunt's 'Reformation of Church of England,' 247.
- Bodleian Library, 132; Macray's annals, 132; early libraries of the world, 133; Osymandyas, 133; Hebrews, 134; first library in England, 135; Oxford, 136; origin of Bodleian, 137; Cobham's library, 138; divinity school, 138; Thomas Kempe, 138; life of Bodley, 139; original statutes, 141; privilege of reading, 141; letters patent of James I., 141; bequests, 142; various collections, 145; the Douce collection, 147; Canonici collection, 146; Sutherland collection, 147; curiosities, 149; coins, and medals, 150; sources of increase, 153; the copyright act, 155; catalogues, 157; pilferers, 159; the Bodleian staff, 159.
- Boissard's 'Eglise de Russie,' 253.
- Brigg's 'Thoughts on Class Meetings,' 525.
- Brougham, Life of, 187; former biographers and Campbell, 188; youth, 188; early scientific papers, 189; Scotch bar, 189; *Edinburgh Review*, 191; defence of Queen Caroline, 195; member for Yorkshire, 195; culmination, 196; end, 197.
- Brown's 'Misread Passages,' 263.
- Browning's poems, 325; catalogue of his works, 326; schools of poetry, 327, idyllic and psychological schools, 329; dramatic poetry, 331; Pauline

- monologue, 333; 'Ring and Book,' 337; the several monologues, 342; estimate of the work, 357; the epic of psychology, 357.
 Bunsen's Memoirs, abridged, 258.
- Cæsar Malan, 518.
 Centenary Celebration of Cheshunt College, 261.
 'Central Truths,' Stanford's, 527.
 Chancellors, Lives of, by Campbell, 177; Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, 177; rise slow, 178; Solicitor-General, 179; Attorney-General, 180; Master of Rolls, 182; Dr. Warren, 183; Lyndhurst's oratory, 185; Brougham, 187; his scientific papers, 189; Scotch bar, 189; slave trade, 191; repeal of Orders in Council, 191; *Edinburgh Review*, 193; defence of Queen, 195; Canning and Brougham, 194; Wellington's Government, 195; Lord Campbell's self-condemnation, 197.
 Christendom's Divisions,' 103.
 'Christian Year,' 214.
 'Church's Creed or Crown's Creed,' 102.
 Coleridge's 'Memoirs of Keble,' 198.
 'Collins' Life of,' by Coley, 225.
 Corinthians, Commentary on, by Kling, 516.
 'Constance Aylmer,' 528.
 Coulin's 'Son of Man,' 495.
 Criticism, Essays on, by Arnold, 257.
 Cosmogony, 358; Baden Powell, 358; first chapters of Bible legend or true history, 359; Genesis, 359; Old Testament sealed by faith of a whole nation, 359; original state of earth, 361; day and night, 362; earth once like moon, 363; causes and methods of change, 364; Hebrew criticism, 365; 'stability of waves, mobility of land,' 367; 'Siluria,' by Murchison, 369; terraces in Scotland, 369; boundary of land and water, 371; difficulties, 372; ancient sea level of the north, 374; modern geologists, 377.
 'Daniel,' Pusey's, 512; Rule's, 512.
 Davidson's, Dr., 'Introduction to Study of the New Testament,' 1; his qualities for the work, 3; school to which he belongs, 3; opinions concerning the synoptics, 5; original oral gospel, 4; St. Mark's Gospel and St. Peter, 7; fallacious reasonings and dogmatism, 9; gospel of Tübingen school, gospel according to tendencies, 10; opinion as to the Son's ignorance, 11; detailed criticism on St. Mark, 13; Pauline and Petrine Christianity, 14; St. Luke, 14; Paley's Horse Paulinae, 15; Acts of the Apostles historical? 17; Galatians, 18; reconciliation of Acts and Galatians, 21; the Council at Jerusalem, 23; speeches in Acts, 24; St. Stephen's speech, 31; conversion of St. Paul, 32; the resurrection, 33; St. John's Gospel, 35; Docetism, 37; comparison of St. John's Gospel and Epistle, 39; tendency of Dr. Davidson's work, 41.
 Davies' 'Gospel and Modern Life,' 504.
 Dean Donne, 91.
 Devotional Commentary on St. Matthew, 520.
 Dixon's 'Her Majesty's Tower,' 244.
 Eadie's 'Galatians,' 511.
 'Early Church,' Pryce's History of, 527.
 'Election of Grace,' Taylor's, 260.
 'English Bible,' Westcott's History of, 265; Westcott's former works, 265; manuscript Bible, 266; Venerable Bede, 266; King Alfred, 268; Wycliffe, 271; completion of his New Testament, 273; Wycliffite versions, 275; printed Bible, 277; Tyndale, 277; Coverdale, 279; the Great Bible, 280; the Genevan Bible, 285; the Bishops' Bible, 287; Rhenish version, 287; Hampton Court conference, 287; Authorised Version, history of, 289; history of translations, 297.
 Ewald's 'History of Israel,' 514.
 Fairbairn's 'Revelation of Law,' 231.
 Ffoulkes' 'Christendom's Divisions,' 102; 'Church's Creed or Crown's Creed,' 102.
 Galloway's 'Egypt's Record,' 253.
 Grindon's 'Trees of Old England,' 527; 'Echoes,' 527.
 Grant Duff's 'Political Survey,' 255.
 Jackson's 'Institutions of Christianity,' 255.
 Judaism and Christianity, 463; two classes of modern Jews, 463; opposite views of Christianity, 463; the

- Jewish Scientific Society of France, 463; The Sermon on the Mount and its origin in Talmud, 465; Midrasch quoted, 466; Judaic Christianity, 469; Christianity and Paulinism, 471; theory of union between Judaism and Christianity, 474; Dr. Adler's 'Volume of Sermons,' 475; their object, 475; contempt for Christian zeal, 476; views of Trinity, 477; vicarious atonement denied, 479; the Incarnation attacked, 481; the eternity of the law, 483; a 'son of the law,' or 'congregant,' 487.
- Kaye's 'Indian Officers,' 523.
- Keble, John, 198; Coleridge's Life, 198; defects, 199; absence of correspondence with Pusey and Newman, 200; Keble at college, 203; friendship formed there, 203; ordination, 205; parish, 207; home, 208; Keble on Southey and Homer, 209; his pupils, 210; Froude and Newman, 213; Hursley, 215; 'Christian Year,' 215; Keble and Newman bigoted Protestants at Oxford, 217; professorship of poetry, 217; edition of Hooker, 217; Library of the Fathers, 219; condemnation of Tract XC., 219; advance in doctrine, 221; secession of Wilberforce, 223.
- Ker's 'Sermons,' 250.
- Kling's 'Commentary on Corinthians,' 516.
- Läseriet in Sweden, 299.
- Lapland, 324.
- Leighton, new edition of Works, 521.
- Leopold, King of Belgians, 42; his early history, 43; Princess Charlotte, 45; Prince of Orange, 48; death of Princess Charlotte, 49; trial of Queen Caroline, 51; Greeks, 51; Belgian Revolution, 53; accepts the Belgian crown, 55; M. Juste's 'Memoir,' 57; Leopold as diplomatist, 61; character, 63.
- Liddon's 'Sermons,' 250.
- Logan's 'Words of Comfort,' 259.
- Lutheranism in Sweden, 300.
- Martineau's 'Biographical Sketches,' 242.
- Maudsley's 'Physiology and Pathology of Mind,' 248.
- Methodism in Sweden, 299; Pietism and Läseriet, 299; introduction of Gospel into Sweden, 299; Ansgarius, 299; Popery, 299; Gustavus Vasa, 299; declaration in favour of Reformation, 300; Lutheranism in Sweden, 300; religious awakenings, 301; South Sweden, 302; Pietism in Lutheran Church, 303; Rosenius, 303; Wesleyan Missionary Society, 305; pastor Scott, 307; his expulsion from Sweden, 313; Rosenius and Baptists, 317; Rosenius' death, 321; Scott's labours, 324; Tellström and Lapland, 324.
- Moberley's 'Bampton Lecture,' 160.
- Moore's 'Thoughts on Preaching,' 225.
- Moore's 'Power of Soul over Body,' 250.
- Norway, 424; Mary Wollstonecroft's 'Letters,' 425; the war and travelling, 426; Brooke's 'Travels,' 426; glories of Norway, 429; modes of travelling, 431; language, 433; physical features, 435; gulf stream, 435; land system, 437; Norwegian farms, 438; fisheries, 439; cod fishery, 441; herring, 443; game, 444; costume, 447; Lutheran religion, 449; the Norwegian Wesley, 451; religious rites, 453; ordination, 453; education, 454; law, 457; the University of Christiania, 456; history, 458; the Storthing, 461.
- 'Officers, Lives of Indian,' 523.
- Origin of Sermon on the Mount, 463.
- Oxenham's 'Catholic Doctrine of Atonement,' 494.
- 'Oxonian on Tellmark,' 439; Norway 424.
- 'Paracelsus,' Browning's, 325.
- Plumptre's 'Æschylus,' 522.
- 'Principles of Geology,' Lyell's, 385.
- Pryce's 'History of Early Church,' 527.
- Pietism in Lutheran Church, 303.
- 'Preaching,' Moore's 'Thoughts on,' 522.
- Pusey's 'Daniel,' 512.
- Religious Republics, 505.
- Registrar-General's report, 379; rate of increase of population, 381; death-rate, 383; infant mortality, 385; pollution of air and water, 387; 'Survival of the Fittest,' 389; ques-

- tion of deterioration in human species, 391; gymnastics, 392.
- 'Revelation of Law,' Fairbairn's, 231.
- Robinson's 'Biblical Studies,' 358.
- Rigg's, Dr., 'Relations of Methodism to Established Church, Investigated and Determined,' 258.
- 'Ring and the Book,' 350.
- 'Robert's 'History of Balaam,' 525.
- Rules 'Daniel,' 512.
- 'Safe Steps,' Withington's, 259.
- Sargent's 'George Burley,' 526.
- Savonarola's 'Triumph of Cross,' 251.
- 'Sibyl of Cornwall,' 528.
- 'Siluria,' Murchison's, 358.
- Skewe's 'Digest,' 527.
- Spirit, Holy, 160; 'Filioque,' 113; Spirit-bearing church, 163; Spirit of God and spirit of man, 162; tongues of fire, 165.
- 'St. Paul's Cathedral, Annals of,' 65; origin of London, 66; effects of Saxon invasion, 67; reconversion of Britain, 68; first convocation of Lanfranc, 69; popular tumults, 71; Paul's Cross, 71; first sermon recorded, 73; Wycliffe, 74; Bishop Braybrooke, 75; De Hæretico Comburendo, 75; sovereigns at St. Paul's, 77; secular foundation, 77; chapter and chantries, 79; Dean Colet, 81; autos-da-fé, 83; Bonner, 84; Iconoclasts, 85; Ridley, 87; royal supremacy, 89; Dean Donne, 91; the great fire, 93; restoration, 95; new St. Paul's, 96; worthies, 99; the future, 101.
- Stern's 'Captive Missionary,' 393.
- Sweden, Methodism in, 300.
- 'Tellström and Lapland,' 324.
- Theodore, King of Abyssinia, 393.
- Tischendorf's Testament, 491.
- 'Town Life among the Poorest,' Morgan's, 263.
- Trench's 'Irish Life,' 247.
- 'Trevor's Home,' 526.
- 'Triumph of Cross,' translated from Savonarola, 251.
- Vasa, Gustavus, 299.
- Version, Authorised, History of, 289.
- 'Vert, Experiences of a, 102; Manning, 103; Mr. Ffoulkes, 103; Christendom's divisions, 105; Anglicanism, 107; the *Union Review*, 109; Apologia, 111; Dr. Newman, 111; 'Filioque' introduced into the creed, 113; forged donation and decretals, 115; ancient British Church, 117; sacramental grace beyond the pale, 119; Romanism on the Continent, 129; Mr. Ffoulkes' writings, 130.
- 'Walking in the Light,' by Trench, 261.
- 'Weigh-House Sermons,' 263.
- Wesley's Poetical Works, 257.
- Williams', Rev. H. W., 'Exposition of Romans,' 238.
- Withington's 'Safe Steps,' 259.
- 'Words of Comfort for Bereaved Parents,' 259.
- Wycliffe, 271.

